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Bethlehem Council Dismisses Vice-Mayor In Controversial Vote

George Hazboun, a leading West Bank trade unionist, was dismissed as deputy mayor of Bethlehem January 21 in a controversial vote. Bethlehem councillors supported a motion to replace Hazboun tabled by Mayor Elias Freij, 7 to 2, with one abstention. In his motion Freij said his deputy had failed to attend three consecutive sessions of the council.

Hazboun's supporters point out that the council should not be meeting after they agreed to a total strike in boycott of the 'civil administration,' last May. Calling the dismissal "a political battle," Hazboun told **Al Fajr** he still considers himself the legitimate deputy mayor of the town.

Freij told **Al Fajr** that Hazboun was fired for non-attendance and that such issues do not need a council vote.

The sacking came two days before Freij left on a three-week trip to Jordan and Egypt where he is expected to meet King Hussein and President Husni Mubarak.

Council members elected Hanna Jamil Nasir, a local textile factory owner, as Freij's new deputy by a vote of seven to two.

Following is the text of the letter sent by George Hazboun to the Bethlehem municipal council on January 21:

"To clarify my standpoint regarding absence from municipal council meetings and the issue of the mayor's trip, I would like to say the following:

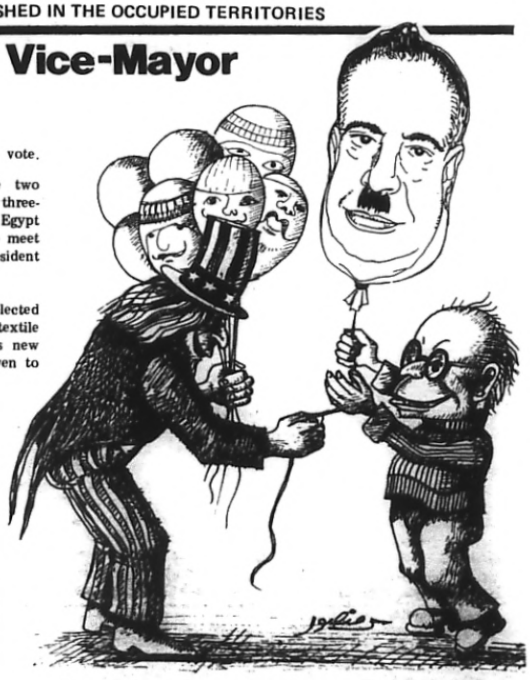
1— My non-attendance at municipal council meetings is in abidance with the decision of the West Bank municipal councils to suspend their activities, after a number of municipalities were dissolved. The mayor agreed and signed this decision after consulting the members, who also agreed to commit themselves to the public position taken by the municipalities. The content of the decision is still in force and nothing has happened to change it.

The return of the municipality to work was not the result of a session held by the municipality, and since I refuse to violate the national consensus, I am still committed to the decisions suspending municipal activities.

2 — The political conduct of the mayor, against which I have always expressed my opposition, beginning from Camp David and ending with the Reagan plan, confirms that his trip to Cairo is in harmony with the same type of conduct which harms the national demands of our people and runs counter to them. Consequently I oppose this trip, maintaining my right to reject its results.

Sincerely
George Hazboun

Several West Bank mayors have denounced Hazboun's dismissal in local newspapers, among them Bassam Shaka'a, mayor of Nablus, Karim Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah, Wahid Hamdallah, mayor of Anabta, and Haj Amin al-Nasser, mayor of Qalqilya. (Translation, Al Talia, 27. 1. 83). See mayor's comments, page 3.



Begin's Washington Visit Delayed

It is looking more and more likely that the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to Washington will be delayed because of the lack of progress in the Lebanon talks, writes Ghassan Bishara, our Washington DC correspondent. The visit was originally set for the middle of next month and senior administration officials are dropping broad hints that it will not take place unless there is progress on Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

The January 26 State Department press briefings raised the issue formally after rumours had been flying for about ten days. According to the **Washington Post**, Israel now confirms that US President Ronald Reagan will not meet Begin until progress on withdrawal is achieved. The **Post** argues that Reagan wants talks between himself and Begin to focus on the September 1 peace plan and not the bogged-down Lebanon discussions.

Spokesman John Hughes refused to confirm or deny reports from Israel but he did say that "both sides" see that it would be most "opportune" for Begin to visit when the withdrawal is behind them. Asked about US-Israeli relations, Hughes admitted that there are "some problems" but denied there was a crisis.

One of the topics causing added tension between the two partners are the recurring conflicts between Israeli troops and US Marines in Lebanon as part of the Multi-Force Organisation. American officials have condemned in harsh terms the five or six Israeli troop challenges to the Marines around the airport area. Israel has accused the Marines of allowing Palestinian guerillas to operate from their area. John Hughes denied this, January 25, and said there are adequate mechanisms for "these matters to be discussed and resolved."

The Marines commander and General Amir Drori, the Israeli military commander of the northern district (which now includes the Beirut area), are expected to meet to try and defuse a situation which has already seen an Israeli jeep run into a marine and a marine have to be ordered not to open fire on an Israeli soldier.

Confirmation of the problems between Israel and the US came in a CBS interview with Secretary of State George Shultz earlier. Shultz said that Begin is "always welcome in the US," but said the visit was being delayed because the Israelis "would like to concentrate on the issues of the West Bank and the peace process started at Camp David."

NAFHA PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

Palestinian political prisoners in Nafha prison began a hunger strike January 23 to protest inhuman conditions at the Naqab desert jail. The news has been confirmed by the spokesman for the Israeli prisoners' service, Shimon Malcha, who was quoted by Haaretz as saying that a group of political prisoners are on "partial hunger strike."

The spokesman claimed that the prisoners did not make any demands. Al Quds daily reported that the prisoners are protesting insufficient and bad quality food. The paper alleged that the prison administration had withdrawn blankets from prisoners, and refused to give them winter clothes, in addition to denying lawyers visits to them.

Haaretz also said that Palestinians in Triangle villages say that there has been a general hunger strike in all prisons for two weeks now.

(Translation: Haaretz, 27. 1. Al Quds, 26. 1. 1983)

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ARAFAT MEETS MEMBERS OF ISRAELI PEACE COUNCIL

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat met sometime last week with three leaders from the Israeli Council for Israel-Palestinian Peace, in an undisclosed time and location, for discussions on a wide range of subjects. The meeting raised a great deal of controversy within Israeli political circles, which could lead to the trial of Reserve General Matiyahu Peled, one of the paricipants.

Mati Peled, Uri Avnery, editor of **Ha'olam Hazeh**, and Ya'acov Arnon, a former director-general of the Israeli finance ministry, all leaders of the Sheli Party, met for four hours with the Palestinian leader and three of his assistants. According to a joint communique, they discussed the current situation in the Middle East and ways to solve the Palestinian problem.

Peled, in a telephone interview with **Al Fajr**, said that the meeting was aimed at creating understanding between positions. He stressed the political nature of the meeting and said it was arranged beforehand through Issam Sartawi, Yasir Arafat's political advisor, in a meeting with the Israeli council.

Peled said that they have been ready for such a meeting for a long time, and that it was up to the PLO to fix the time. Peled denied the reports that they were invited to attend the Palestinian National Council meeting, but said that they expressed readiness to attend if they were invited.

News of the meeting was first released at 6:00 pm, January 20, by the Palestinian News Agency (WAFA) which said that "Arafat values the role of Israeli peace forces, in their struggle to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

Politically speaking, the meeting was described by General Peled as a sucess. Peled said that the two teams agreed that mutual and simultaneous recognition between the PLO and Israel constitutes the first step towards solving the Middle East conflict. He explained that the PLO rejects the idea of unilateral recognition by the Palestinians. The three Israeli leaders said it is clear to their Palestinian counterparts that such a step from the Palestinian side would, however, help to shift Israeli public opinion in favour of the peace camp.

On their return to Israel, and after the news of their meeting was revealed, several hawkish Israeli voices demanded that the delegation members be tried for what they described as violating a ban on meeting PLO leaders. The matter was discussed at the Israeli cabinet meeting January 23 and there were rumours that laws concerning contact with the enemy would be changed to outlaw such contacts. Peled said: "When we first started our contacts with the PLO in 1976, the then Justice Minister Haim Zadok said that our activities were not illegal." After Uri Avnery met with Arafat in Beirut during the war there were several calls for his prosecution. The case, however, was dropped, after he was questioned by the police.

On January 20 the Sheli Party passed a resolution approving its leaders' step and calling for closer coordination of activities between the Israeli peace camp and the PLO, in order to "reach the common goal."

The Israeli Council for Israel-Palestine Peace was established in 1975. The manifesto calls for complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, and allowing the Palestinian people to determine their political future freely. The council first started contacts with the PLO in 1976 when its members met Issam Sartawi, who is said to have been appointed specifically for the purpose of making contacts with Israelis.

The latest meeting has received a great deal of attention locally from Palestinian and Israeli media for it is the first public meeting between the PLO chairman and Israeli political leaders. There were also reports that Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliuk of **Al Hamishmar** and **Le Monde** met Arafat in Tunis January 20.

POWs at Ansar Denied Rights By a Twist of "Judicial Fiction"

by Marius Schattner/AFP

AFP — Six months after the beginning of the Israeli offensive in Lebanon, more than 6000 people arrested by the Israeli authorities are still interned — nearly all at Ansar — in difficult conditions and without the occupying force having determined their status.

According to the Israeli military authorities, of the 9064 people arrested during the war, 5917 are detained at Ansar camp, and the majority are Palestinians. This number also includes nationals of 33 different countries, about 1000 of whom are Lebanese.

The Israeli military authorities refuse to allow them the status of prisoner-of-war, even if they belonged to uniformed units of PLO fighting organisations. But, equally, they refuse to consider them civilians "protected" by article 80 of the IV Geneva Convention, and thus having the right to receive family visits and legal representation.

According to some Israeli lawyers, this judicial confusion is illustrated in the terminology used: "detainees" or "persons taken away." For lawyer Lea Tsemel, the authorities are maintaining a "judicial fiction" in order to deprive the prisoners of their basic rights. On November 30, together with two other Israeli lawyers, she petitioned the High Court to be allowed to visit six detainees at Ansar camp from whom she had obtained power-of-attorney. The High Court ordered the army to provide an explanation, within two months, for its opposition to the lawyers' visits.

Felicia Langer, another Israeli lawyer, who has for some years now devoted herself to the defence of Palestinian political prisoners, appealed to the High Court on January 5 for the right to visit Miryam Abd al-Jalil, who has been detained at Neve Tirtza prison in Ramle, since her arrest on November 1, 1982 at Burj al-Shemaleh refugee camp near Tyre, South Lebanon.

The problem of the detainees goes beyond their status, as Lea Tsemel underlines: "If we are refused entry into Ansar camp, despite the powers-of-attorney in our possession, than it's because the authorities have got something to hide." And that something, according to Tsemel, concerns tortures to which prisoners are subjected, and which were particularly flagrant in the early days of the war.

MK Tawfiq Zayyad (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality), taking up reports which appeared in the French and Lebanese press, has called for the creation of a parliamentary commission of enquiry. Another Democratic Front MK Tawfiq Toubi, has already brought the affair concerning the death of 14 Palestinian detainees in the Israeli prison of Megiddo to the attention of the authorities. He was unable to give the names of the dead detainees, but pointed out that the Palestinian prisoners at Megiddo who had sent out the information, had immediately been transferred to Hebron prison, where they have been locked away.

A prison administration spokesman said that one of these prisoners, Abd al-Fattah Salmi, had been transferred to Kishon prison, near Haifa, on November 23.

Israeli Defence Minister, Ariel Sharon, in reply to these accusations, categorically denied the whole affair, and announced that the Megiddo prisoners had subsequently retracted their declarations. On the other hand, he did confirm press reports that the army has named a commission of enquiry into the cases of torture at Ansar which apparently took place during July and August. It was at Ansar, on September 23, that eight prisoners received gunshot wounds during the riot that broke out in the camp. On December 3, two prisoners were killed and two others wounded by the shots of a guard who "accidently" fired his gun, according to the authorities' version of the incident.

Ansar camp, constructed on a bare plain near Nabbatiye, has been receiving visits by Red Cross representatives for some months, but journalists from the international press are still not allowed to talk to prisoners, who are divided into sub-camps of 500 detainees under the control of a head prisoner, appointed by the guards.

IS IT A NEW MASSACRE?

News reports emerging from Lebanon said January 23 that eight Palestinians who were being held by the Lebanese army in Yarzeh prison, died under torture. The reports said that a 60-year-old doctor was one of the victims. Two other Palestinian residents of the Sabra refugee camp, near Beirut, were paralysed as a result of torture, according to reports.

Israeli Radio reported January 26 that the bodies of five Palestinian residents of Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon were discovered by Israeli soldiers. The radio report added that two of the five residents had been held at Ansar detention camp in South Lebanon.

Reports broadcast by the Voice of Palestine radio station said that the bodies were of Palestinians who died under torture. The bodies were dumped in remote areas in order to conceal the crime, the station added. (Translation: Al Fajr, 24, 27. 1. 83, Al Ittihad, 25. 1. 83)

Katyusha Attack in Khalde
Israeli-Lebanese Talks Deadlocked

Israeli, American and Lebanese negotiators reached a renewed stalemate, January 24, during discussions of details on the agenda to draw to a close the Lebanon war. Reporters covering the talks said that there was no progress beyond the formation of five sub-committees to deal with each of the separate points on the much debated agenda. As the ninth session opened in a beach-side hotel in Khaldeh south of Beirut, a katyusha rocket exploded nearby. One Israeli soldier was wounded.

The widely publicised and hard won success of the first six rounds of talks diminished as both parties began articulating their carefully phrased perceptions of what the vaguely worded agenda means.

One of the main points of difference in the initial sparring was Israel's demand that it maintain at least three 'early warning stations' in south Lebanon after an eventual withdrawal of the main force of their troops. The Israeli prime minister and other top statesmen say that this condition is necessary as part of the special arrangements mentioned on the agenda.

The Israeli objective was thoroughly discussed between the Israeli negotiating team and the US special envoy Philip Habib without reaching any agreement. Political observers say that Habib tried to convince Begin to agree that US troops would operate early warning positions and not Israeli forces. The compromise was rejected, leading to speculation that Israel wants to maintain its position in the central Lebanese mountains in order to keep Syrian deployments under scrutiny.

According to **The Jerusalem Post**, the Israeli delegation has officially informed the Lebanese of their desire to maintain warning posts in south Lebanon. Antoine Fattal, the chief Lebanese delegate, said in response that Lebanon was not ready to compromise their sovereignty on their territory.

To Israel, the issue of keeping warning stations was described by chief of staff, Raphael Eitan, as "necessary to ensure that the 45-kilometer zone is free of Palestinian fighters." Israel's prime minister explained later to the cabinet that Israel and the US had failed to reach an agreement on the issue. Begin told the Israeli Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee, January 24, that without US support on the issue the matter would be harder to settle.

Meanwhile, recent European visitors from Lebanon report that the International Committee of the Red Cross there say that up to three Israeli soldiers are being killed daily in guerilla operations in the south. Local observers here believe that the figure is high.

To Lebanon, the main and most urgent issue is Israeli withdrawal from the country. Lebanese News Agency quoted a government spokesman, January 20, saying that the Lebanese would not sign a declaration ending the state of war with Israel before the last Israeli soldier leaves south Lebanon.

The rising differences developing between the delegations to the ninth session at Khalde were fuelled by clashes on the meaning of the phrase "mutual relations" — one of the items on the five-point agenda. Also there were no agreements on the venues for the meetings of the five delegations subcommittees. The session ended with a brief statement that the five groups will meet twice-weekly, once in Israel and once in Lebanon.

WEST BANK MAYORS CALL FREIJ'S FIRING OF HAZBOUN "DANGEROUS STEP"

The firing of George Hazboun, an active leader of the Public Institutions' Workers Union, from his position as deputy-mayor of Bethlehem municipality by Elias Freij and other town councillors has aroused intense debate among Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Elias Freij has denied that political differences entered into Hazboun's sacking, asserting that Hazboun's dismissal came after he failed to attend the last three municipal council sessions — a basis for dismissal in Jordanian law.

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Hazboun insists that behind the practical issue lies a sinister political motive. "The Bethlehem mayor supports Camp David and the Reagan (September 1) initiative." Hazboun is opposed to both and says of Elias Freij's scheduled trip to Jordan and Egypt (starting January 24), "I am against this trip because it harms the Palestinian cause. . . . I still consider myself the legitimate deputy mayor of Bethlehem municipality. Is it (outside interests) that forced me out of office, or Freij's political attitudes? He is a supporter of the Reagan initiative and the drafter of the document of surrender (reference to an, as yet unpublished, call on the PLO to recognise Israel, and UN Security Resolutions 242 and 338, drawn up by Freij and others last Autumn)."

Indeed, a day before his dismissal, Hazboun told **Al Fajr** that he had sent a letter to the council which he wanted discussed. The letter, he said, contained two points: Hazboun's reasons for not attending the municipal council sessions and comments opposing the upcoming visit to Jordan and Egypt.

On the issue of suspending work and boycotting the 'civil administration,' Elias Freij told **Al Fajr**: "I signed the decision suspending the municipal council's work but I never believed the suspension strike would be fruitful." He called insistence on the strike "a kind of stupidity" and "raising empty slogans."

In the aftermath of the sacking, several mayors in the West Bank expressed their opposition to Freij's decision, calling it "a dangerous step," "an unnecessary procedure," and "an arbitrary decision." Some mayors believe that a counterstep should be taken to foil it and others demanded that the municipal council in Bethlehem withdraw their dismissal notice.

Mayor of Anabta, Wahid Hamdallah, who was dismissed from his municipal post by the military authorities on April 29, 1982, told **Al Fajr** that, "firing Hazboun is not only a dangerous personal attack against (him) and his rights, but an offence committed against all the municipal councils in the West Bank."

. . . . . in firing Hazboun. "The latter is the worst," Hamdallah affirmed. Hamdallah had also been rereading the nationalist document drawn up around the time of the suspension which Elias Freij had opposed. "At that time, we respected his opinion — but we vigorously oppose the behavior of Freij as a political avenger on those whose opinions differ with his."

Ibrahim Tawil, the first mayor to be dismissed last March by Menahem Milson, then 'civil administrator' of the West Bank, told **Al Fajr** that, "such a decision does not help the national movement in the West Bank. Freij should not use his authority against national figures."

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Karim Khalaf, deported mayor of Ramallah who was sacked along with Bassam Shaka'a, mayor of Nablus last March 25, told **Al Fajr** from his Jericho home, that Mayor Freij does not have the right to dismiss his deputy. "Freij is behaving against the unanimous attitude of West Bank and Gaza Strip mayors," Khalaf stated. . . . . .

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Mustafa Natshe, acting mayor of Hebron, opposed Freij's step by saying, "It is wrong that Freij dismissed his deputy, especially at this time." Natshe also opposed Freij's visit to Egypt, saying that it is a political step that no mayor should take. . . . . .

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The municipalities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip started their suspension of activities in May 1982 to protest the dissolving of al-Bireh, Ramallah and Nablus councils and to demand the restoration of the deposed mayors. After the establishment of the 'civil administration' in the West Bank in November 1981, Menachem Milson began summoning mayors to meetings.

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. . . . . Most West Bank and Gaza Strip municipalities were dissolved during the last year and the process of harassing the municipalities was redoubled after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Elias Freij seems to be isolated now as he quits the West Bank for abroad. Although he has been feted recently by Western diplomats and the press, his statements on the issue of 'peace negotiations' have caused much local concern. With pressure outside increasing, few who **Al Fajr** contacted believed that the 'Freij initiatives' would stop. Now on the very edge of the fold, Freij seems to be looking abroad for support, rather than here at home.

NABLUS QUARTER CURFEWED, IRON GATES INSTALLED

The Qasabeh neighbourhood in Nablus was curfewed twice this week following youth demonstrations protesting Israeli measures against the city and Al Najah University. Reports from the city said that one lecturer at Najah, and 17 youths were detained by Israeli troops:

Demonstrations, which have become a daily occurrence in Nablus, were especially fierce on January 25 and 26. Youths set tyres ablaze in the middle of streets, and stoned Israeli soldiers. **Maariv** reported that 17 youths were arrested, January 25, following stone-throwing incidents. The old market was also placed under curfew.

Events in Nablus escalated after Israeli troops installed iron gates across streets connecting the old section of the city with the new. Reporters said that the Israelis were attempting to isolate the old section of the city. The latest gate, one of three, was torn down the same evening by unidentified youths. The Israeli army reimposed the curfew while reinstallation work continued.

Nablus residents say that the Israelis are planning to install gates at all 15 entrances to the Qasabeh neighbourhood, which would mean complete isolation of the old section.

At Al Najah University, classes resumed, January 26, after more than two weeks of disruptions caused by military road blocks.

The Jerusalem Post reported, January 23, that Israeli soldiers detained Sami Kilani, a physics teacher at Najah University, without giving any explantion for their measure.

On January 25, Israeli authorities released eight out of the nine students council members previously arrested. Adnan Dmairi, head of the Student Council remained in detention. The eight students, however, were summoned for further interrogation on January 26. Dmairi was freed the next day. (Translation: Local Dailies, the Jerusalem Post, 21,-27, 1. 83)

Eitan's Illegal Orders

The Israeli Chief of Staff, Raphael Eitan, issued a memorandum during a series of other measures to try and quell protest. The measures were revealed when parts of the document were read as evidence at the court martial of seven soldiers accused of brutality. He is to be called soon to give evidence to the Jaffa court.

Eitan assessed that the uprising in the occupied territories had occurred because of the "withdrawal from the Sinai" and the introduction of the 'civil administration.' He recommended that a "detention/expulsion camp be constructed to house prisoners." Since then, a **Jerusalem Post** reporter noted, Fara'a detention centre, near Jenin, has been built.

Eitan also recommended that arrests be carried out according to a list of suspects, bearing in mind the number of places free in the jails and using "means of punishing the parents."

On April 2, the court heard, that following a tour of the area, Eitan issued further instructions which included: Inciters are to be dealt with forcefully and detained at every available opportunity; that a camp be constructed where demonstrators could be held for 18 days, released for a day or two and then have their arrest (harassment) renewed; that 'civil administration' was to cease meeting people termed by Eitan 'notables'; that residents of settlements were to open fire at any available opportunity and that this policy should be publicised and that the 'civil administration' should make extensive use of economic sanctions against 'problematic' localities.

Reacting to the fresh re-evaluations at the trial, the Peace Now movement, which sparked off the trials when members complained at a mid-summer press conference that Israeli actions during the uprising were not being properly investigated, wrote to Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, demanding that he publicly disassociate himself from the Eitan recommendations.

MK Amnon Rubinstien said that **prima facie** Eitan had issued "illegal orders."

At a symposium on the Middle East after the Lebanon war, at the Shiloah Institute, Tel Aviv, January 25, Eitan told his audience "that every single order I gave soldiers was legal." He cited curfews, demolition of houses and deportations as examples of legal orders. He also said that since the uprising he has ordered that small squads of soldiers not be sent into trouble spots in an attempt to cut down on instances when they would have to open fire to defend themselves.

Police Arrest 23 Gaza Workers For Sleeping in Nazareth

Twenty-three Palestinian workers from Gaza were arrested January 20 in Nazareth for sleeping in the town without a permit. The arrests came after Israeli police raided four houses in various quarters of Upper Nazareth in which Palestinian workers stay. They have been taken to Gaza to await trial.

Suheil Dayyab, a member of the Israeli Communist Party (RAKAH) branch in the town, told **Al Fajr** that the police chased Palestinian workers to camouflage activities of local hoodlums against religious and popular figures in Nazareth, who are now agitating for greater police action against crime.

"At the same time," Dayyab added, "the Israeli authorities did not take any action against Israeli factory owners or farmers who employ the Palestinian workers."

According to Israeli military regulations, West Bank and Gaza Strip residents are forbidden to sleep overnight in pre-'67 Israel.

West Bank C-o-C Heads Plan Attendance At Khartoum Meeting

Representatives of the Chamber of Commerce in the West Bank decided, January 25, to send a delegation to the annual conference of Arab Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry, scheduled to be held in Khartoum, February 5 to 9. The decision was one among many taken at a general meeting of CoC members at their Jerusalem headquarters. Discussion centred on present tax conditions. Delegates protested the high sums members are being asked to pay as "an attempt to apply Israeli law in the West Bank." Recently announced military demands that merchants declare capital holdings were also attacked.

Fa'eq Barakat, the head of the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce, told **Al Fajr** after the meeting that chambers of commerce in the West Bank, will send letters to the Israeli authorities. "We will also protest higher fees for visits and travel permits," Barakat said. Now travel or visit permits cost IS700. Permits for lorry drivers crossing the bridge now fetch JD 60.

Other Decisions

During the meeting, the CoC members decided to ask Jordanian officials to empower them to clear West Bankers passport applications and issue **Mansha'** certificates, to confirm that agricultral and industrial goods are West Bank products. West Bank municipalities used to issue such certificates.

Barakat said that after elected mayors were sacked, it would facilitate the interests of residents if the chambers of commerce took over the role.

On the decision to go to Khartoum, Sudan, next month it was announced that CoC representatives will attend the conference as observers "because they do not want to share in the political discussions." CoC sources said the West Bankers will suggest the Arab CoCs back the steadfastness of the Palestinians in the occupied territories. The conference was transferred to Khartoum from Baghdad because of the Iranian-Iraqi war.

SF/Photo

Old City Jerusalem House Collapses in Rainstorm

The roof of a two-room house collapsed in the old city of Jerusalem January 24 after heavy rain and snow swept the city. No injuries were reported.

Ahmad Abu Libdeh, 45, who has lived in the house with his 13 children for two years, told **Al Fajr** that during the night the roof and the walls leaked water and that at 2:30 am the roof collapsed when supporting iron girders shapped.

Abu Libdeh said he called the police and that one hour later four or five plainclothes officers arrived. They asked him to sign a paper undertaking to leave the house. Abu Libdeh said he refused because he has no other place to go.

The Abu Libdeh family initially left the house and stayed in the street for several hours. Unable to bear the rain, they returned and crammed all their furniture into their second room. The ceiling of this room also leaks and its roof supports are bending. Ahmad Abu Libdeh has issued a public appeal for anyone with a vacant room to contact him through the East Jerusalem press.

Nearby, Elias Daher, 65, and Yusef Daher, 72, were warned by police to leave two leaking rooms.

Last year, during municipal excavation on al-Wad street, an arch collapsed and several houses suffered structural damage.

Israel Radio announced January 24 that after one of the rainiest nights in years, a West Jerusalem emergency room received over 100 emergency calls. The radio report added that families washed out of their homes were put up in local hotels by the Kollek municipality.

Authorities Deport Respected Galilee Notable From Kaukab

The Israeli authorities deported an elderly Palestinian notable who was on a visit to his family in Kaukab, the Galilee, January 24. The Israelis did not give any official explanation for the measure.

Mohammad Abed Abu Haija, 75, was arrested a few days after his arrival last month at his home village, Kaukab, for a temporary family reunion with his wife and two sons, whom he had not seen in 35 years. He became a refugee in South Lebanon in 1948. His visit was authorized by the Israeli military authorities.

His family report, however, that he was arrested a few days later and then expelled.

The Jerusalem Post reported that Abu Haija is one of the most respected people among the Palestinian population in Lebanon. Village residents also note that the deportee had played a leading role in the 1936 revolution and in the 1948 war during which he fled north.

Local people speculate that his arrest and unexplained deportation were because of his past involvement in the liberation struggle.

SHORTS

MILITARY VEHICLE OVERTURNS

One Israeli soldier died and two others were injured after a traffic accident in Beit Jala January 20.

According to eyewitnesses, the driver of a military car was driving at high-speed at an early morning hour in Beit Jala when he collided with a parked car. The car, owned by Muhammad Beitjali, a TV repairman, was a total writeoff. Beitjali who witnessed the accident, told Al Fajr that the military car somersaulted several times. The soldiers were taken to Hadassah hospital.

COLOURED SCARFS NOW ILLEGAL

A Palestinian labourer was arrested January 24 because he was wearing a scarf the colours of the Palestinian flag. Eyewitnesses told **Al Fajr** that Radwan Ziadeh, 37, a quarry labourer in Hebron, was walking along Salah al-Din Street when plainclothes Israeli policemen stopped him, took his ID, his scarf and arrested him.

New Play Draws Packed Audiences
The Mukhtar Of Mukhtars

by Said al-Ghazali

The **Farafir** (birds) Theatre Troupe presented its new play, **The Mukhtar of Mukhtars**, to packed houses at the Hamra Cinema in Jerusalem, January 19 and 20. The play of 12 scenes divided into two parts concerns the unresolved conflict between progressive and reactionary villagers over the establishment of a Village League. The drama is presented using straight prose and music with the periodic recitation of poetry to emphasise meaning and arouse the audience's emotion.

It was generally well-received, but many in the audience commented that the play was very simplistic — a naive duplication of reality. The director seemed to have a single idea in his mind around which he fitted a play. In many ways, **The Mukhtar of Mukhtars** is typical of Palestinian political plays in its direct reference to current political situation.

The Mukhtar of Mukhtars deals with the disastrous situation created after locusts — an almost cliched symbol of evil in Palestinian literature — attacked the land of an unnamed, but archetypal Palestinian village. A group of young villagers decides to resist the locusts as the only way to save their land. The more traditional in the community refuse to resist and constantly repeat slogans like: "Why should we carry the general burden?"

Wahman, a stranger speaking fluent Arabic with a Hebrew accent and wearing Western dress, comes to recruit the traditionalists. Abu Ghurab, the 'Mukhtar of Mukhtars,' Abu Ain, Abu Khader and Abu Salim are seen as illiterates who quickly acceed to his aims of tightening the grip on the village and curbing the activities of the younger group led by Said and his followers, Subhi, Sarhan and others.

In Part I — which includes the first four of 12 scenes, — the audience is introduced to the theme of the drama and the lines of conflict are made clear. Wahman draws Abu Ghurab into his agricultural association and through him, Abu Khader, Abu Ain and Abu Salim. In a process well oiled with shekels, they move against Said and his followers on the instructions of the benevolent Wahman.

A celebration to mark the association's opening, attended by Abu Ghurab, his men and Wahman, marks the turning point of the play. From there conflicts between the two groups accelerate. Immediately after the celebration the Abu Ghurab group is attacked and Abu Salim withdraws from the association. In response Wahman issues guns to the association. In another clash, Abu Ghurab shoots Said only to be driven slowly mad by his ghost. Wahman appoints Abu Khader as the association head. The play ends with an on-going conflict. The cast leaves the audience with this musical message:

For the Palestinian audience, the play does nothing more than present reality in a straight-forward way. There is neither speculation about the future, nor depiction of the impact of the occupation on Palestinian society. Even its politics gives one only a sketch of an analysis of the conflict in Palestine.

We never find out why, for example, Abu Ghurab yields to Wahman's temptations while Said and his followers do not. Is it because they are traditional or greedy people? Is it because Said and his followers are nationalist? Is nationalism a gift given by God to some people? Or is it a product of the social environment? If the latter, why is Abu Ghurab notnationalistlike Said?

The impacts of the occupation on Palestinian cultural, economic, religious and political life deserves books, drama and poetry. For me **The Mukhtar of Mukhtars** showed nothing new, but gave me a theatrical glimpse of what happens on the streets almost daily

The Dawn
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New Tactics, Old Aim

As the date of the next Palestine National Council draws nearer, Jordan is redoubling its efforts to move in on the PLO's domain. The latest tactic appears to be the flooding of the media with surrender calls by pro-Jordanian Palestinian figures. Not long ago, after making the assumption that the PLO and the Palestinian people were weakened by the recent war in Lebanon, Jordan returned to the Middle East scene with its own calls to share the representation of the Palestinian people with the PLO.

The Jordanian regime still aims, it seems, to regain a role in the Palestinian territories, which it lost popularly with the 1967 war, and officially at the Rabat summit in 1974. Jordan fought a bitter rearguard action after the war. In 1972 they came up with the United Kingdom plan; in 1974 they argued fiercely at the Rabat summit as the PLO won Arab recognition of their role as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Not daunted by the rejection of their patron, Jordanian elements in the occupied territories continued a whispering campaign after the Rabat summit. "The main issue is to end the Israeli occupation," and "it is important that land return to Arab hands" were their favourite slogans then. How similar to today's murmurings – this time in reporters' ears.

As soon as US President Ronald Reagan submitted his plans for all on September 1, 1982, Jordan was the first, and continues to be one of its main supporters.

These attempts clearly aim at undermining the independent Palestinian role and its independent decision-making. But neither the Palestinians in the occupied territories nor those in exile will ever fall into this trap. The PLO will continue to be the sole legitimate representative.

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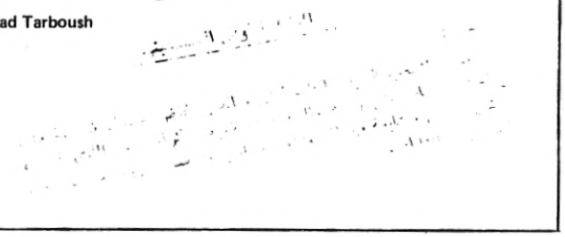
The Charter: Where It Came From Where It May Go

by Mohammad Tarboush



PARIS — Given Israeli and Palestinian preconceptions, debate can seem doomed to degenerate into a dialogue of the deaf.

Palestinians are quick to point out the underlying injustices of Zionism, and how unaccommodating that ideology is to the national and civil rights of the Palestinian people.

Zionists, unable seriously to contest this, turn to the Palestinian charter and specifically Articles 6 and 15, which call for the ultimate dismantling of the state of Israel.

The three Palestinian charters have been sets of principles agreed upon by national assemblies reflecting Palestinians' aspirations to independence and their opposition to Zionism. Each successive charter was a reaction to a setback.

The first was adopted in 1919 by the First Arab Palestinian Congress, sitting in Jerusalem in response to the Balfour declaration, which had called for the establishment of a national Jewish home in predominently Arab Palestine.

The second was produced in October 1948 in Gaza by a Palestinian National Assembly sitting five months after the proclamation of the state of Israel. It reiterated the Palestinians' right to independence and rejected the new changes that had befallen Palestine.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation was set up in 1964. The third Palestinian National Charter was drafted by the PLO's consituent assembly, meeting in Jerusalem in May of that year, and ratified by the first National Council session, also held in Jerusalem. The text was amended at a National Council session held in Cairo in July 1968, a year after Israel occupied the rest of Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza), the Golan Heights and Sinai.

Article 6 says: "The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians."

Article 15 declares "the liberation of Palestine" to be "a national duty." The aim is "the elimination of Zionism in Palestine." To this end "the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, moral and spiritual capabilities . . . " The liberation process is defined as "a phase of the armed Palestinian revolution."

Critics of these texts tend to ignore the prior dispossession of Palestinians as Zionism proceeded to establish Eretz (Greater) Israel. In the 20 years from 1948 to 1968, when there were no Articles 6 and 15, neither was there peace but rather continued methodical negation in words and deeds of the existence of the Palestinians. By comparison, the charter can be regarded as a mild rhetorical reaction.

A Palestinian's view of Zionist opposition to the charter might be expressed this way:

We, the Israelis, came to your country uninvited, took your lands and homes by force and chased you out, and we now deny you the right to return. Not content with the **de facto** recognition you have granted us, we ask you to disclaim even your dreams for what was once your homeland. Meanwhile, some of our leaders will continue to dream of extending Israel's frontiers as far as Baghdad and Kuwait.

The offending articles have in any case been superseded, in effect, by a resolution adopted by the National Council in September 1969. In this text the PLO resolved to work toward the setting up of a "popular democratic Palestinian state for Arabs and Jews alike in which there would be no discrimination and no room for class or national subjugation, and in which the right of both Arabs and Jews to perpetuate and develop their indigenous cultures would be respected."

Palestinians are the first to see the utopianism of this. Still, if history has shown that the Zionist dream can be fulfilled only through destruction, the democratic ideal testifies to faith in people's capacity for construction. The alternative is perpetuation of sacrifice and suffering.

The democratic dream would be to break with the **status quo**, step out of the strait jacket and conceive new solutions. What matters finally should be the preservation of the people, not of the state. And if the price for this is the overthrow of the existing order, so be it.

Jewish thinkers have agreed, for instance, Albert Einstein, who said he would "rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish state."

Later, with the state created, Martin Buber wrote in the Hebrew jounal **Ner** in 1961: "Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred [for the Palestinians] . . . Only then will the old and young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought from afar . . ."

Of course, the de-Zionization of Israel and its replacement by a binational democratic state is not a short-term prospect.

Meanwhile, the PLO is in fact willing to accept the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, which together form less than 20 percent of what was until 1948 Palestine.

That is a striking retreat from the 1968 charter text. And recently the charter was again superseded when Yasir Arafat, as chief executive of the PLO, signed a document accepting all UN resolutions on Palestine — which include the 1947 recommendation for partition.

And now there are Palestinians campaigning quietly for modification of the charter. The 60-member PLO central committee discussed the matter at a meeting in Damascus late November 1982. The impending session of the Palestine National Council may finally call the Israelis' bluff and amend the charter, eliminating the two articles that have furnished ammunition for so much criticism.

It will then remain to be seen whether Israeli arguments against the charter have ever been more than a pretext to hold on to what was obtained by force of arms. Or whether the objectives of Zionism — the main cause of so much enmity between Jews and Arabs — can be adjusted to reality.

OPINION

WHO IS A TRAITOR?

by Ruvik Rosenthal

Yitzhak Moda'i, Israeli minister of energy, and Yuval Ne'eman, minister for science and technology, have a law to put those who meet Arafat on trial. Moda'i added a moral tone when he talked about what should be done to a person who meets "the head of the killers," and Yuval Ne'eman referred to the "good days" when Aharon Cohen(*) was treated with the full severity of the law.

People hear the voices but they cannot understand why this is not right. Arafat is an enemy, an enemy is usually fired at, and whoever talks to an enemy in time of war is a criminal.

Before I try to explain the essence of the proposed law, the moral hypocrisy of Moda'i should be unveiled, because in this case, it has passed beyond every limit. If it is not permitted to talk with "the head of the killers" then Ariel Sharon should be tried because he met Zaire's Mobutu, plus all the leaders of Israel because of their consecutive meetings with the Gemayel family, and even those who conducted talks with King Hussein whose hands are covered with the blood of Palestinians in "Black September."

Again the story from the days of war returns to the dehumanisation of the PLO, along with the strange romanticism around the Phalangists and other factions in Lebanon. This trick, which removes the PLO from its real political context, is already worn out. The PLO is the institution which represents the homeless Palestinians. To fight against it, or to try to talk to it or to "replace it" — this is a matter of choice.

From here to the central claim of Ne'eman and Moda'i, which is not to talk to the enemy during war. This is an absurd claim. If there were no meetings with enemies during war, no war could ever end. Since wars never end with total physical extermination — there has always been a moment when talks are conducted with the enemy, and this always takes place before the end of the war.

When, if this is so, is it right to bring a person who met with an enemy to trial? This is not regarding the essential point that s/he "met," but when that meeting serves the interest of the enemy and harms the state. It is when he refuses to end the war until total victory for the side against which his people fight. This is the meaning of betrayal and nothing else.

The case of the heads of the Sheli movement who met Arafat, is not the case under discussion. The interest of Peled and Avnery is purely an Israeli interest: to bring about an end to the war with the PLO. This is exactly what Moda'i and Ne'eman as well as Yitzhak Shamir abuse. The reason is very simple: they are interested in continuing the situation of war with the PLO, until its extermination.

When they talk about Sheli's betrayal they deface the real difference, because it is much more difficult to defend themselves.

The claim of Ne'eman is that in the time of Ben Gurion and Golda Meir there was strong insistence that no contacts with the enemy were to be tolerated and that only since the days of Rabin we "lost self-confidence." The young Israeli democracy could not endure, according to Ne'eman's conception, a meeting with the PLO because it was "self-confident.". . .

Israeli democracy is facing a serious test now: a law which sends to trial whoever meets with the enemy in any connection is a means of waging a dangerous war against any Israeli who wishes to push or aid the peace process, with the encouragement of the government or without it.

In the end, it is a means for the political killings of whoever is considered a traitor under law, before or after trial. And it confuses the central and real argument which is not connected to whether the PLO is an enemy, but how to bring about an end to the situation in which the PLO is an enemy.

(Translation: Al-Hamishmar, 24.1.83)

(*) Aharon Cohen is an Israeli orientalist who was sentenced to one year imprisonment in 1952 for conducting secret contacts with a Soviet intelligence agent and giving secret information to an agent of a foreign country

THE BIG SILENCE

by Yehoshua Suvuul

Two weeks have passed since Sharon's recommendations to tear off the testicles of the Arabs in the West Bank were made public, without the US discovering Begin's attitude to this idea, or the level of the political thinking of his defense minister and his fitness to serve as defense minister of Israel.

We don't know what the position of Begin is because since the Sharon recommendation was published, Begin has maintained some kind of sacred and inviolable silence. He is aware that it is not wise to be silent, but the big question is whether, in connection to this matter, his silence indicates the wisdom of the silent, because in connection to something else such silence would mean agreement. He is a man of swift and eloquent tongue, whose main power is his tongue, and a person who has never lacked words to express his opinions on different and various subjects.

So, if two weeks after the publication of Sharon's statement Begin has not found it appropriate to express his resentment at the concept, or at least at the style, this can be a sign that neither the idea nor the style arouse him and make him jump from his seat like he would if PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat made a statement regarding tearing off the testicles of the Jews: Begin would then have made a "verbal celebration." It is regrettable that it was not Arafat who used these street terms, but the defense minister of the 'people of the book.'

Another Silence

Two weeks have also passed since swastikas were drawn in our streets, and the appearance of graffiti threatening part of the population of the state with extermination camps. Again it is easy to predict what words would come from the mouth of the prime minister if this graffiti were discovered on the walls of a school in the West Bank.

It is surprising that the Nazi slogans which warn part of the Israeli people about Auschwitz did not appear on the walls of the schools of the West Bank and were not written by Arabs, but they appeared in public places in Israel, and were written by Jews; and what does the PM do? He makes a twittering of resentment after two weeks of silence! This time the silence became really suspicious. So, even if it can be assumed that the prime minister agrees, even in silence, that the testicles of the West Bank residents should be torn off, no one can believe that Mr. Begin agrees, even in silence, to sending part of the Israeli people to Auschwitz! What is the meaning of the prime minister's silence? Perplexity, big perplexity.

Third Silence

The perplexity over Begin's silence becomes greater in the light of the wave of actions against the buses in Lebanon and in Tel Aviv which is, as is well known, a southern suburb of Kiryat Shemona. In our ears is still the assurance that the prime minister gave before the Israeli forces entered West Beirut — that the country will be calm for 40 years!

Since this declaration, the country has not witnessed calm, neither for 40 days nor even for 40 consecutive hours; not even 24hours have passed without a patrol having hit a mine, or a bus being ambushed, or a soldier killed or wounded by a stray bullet, or fire being opened on a checkpost, or an explosive charge going off at a surveillance point, and now also bombs are thrown on a bus in the heart of Tel Aviv, as if it was not 1983 which is the first of 40 years of calm, but 1973, which was full of attacks! Such a degree of security the country has not known for many years!

What did the prime minister say about this? Where is his voice, where are his loud words, his strident phrases and his high-flying sentences? They are not heard!

The last silence, it should be admitted, is the most astonishing. In the recent past, our prime minister seized every opportunity to condemn the murderous character of the organization called "so-and-so." What a golden opportunity was in the hands of the prime minister to make a comparison between that organization and Nazism! So why is he keeping silent? What a precious opportunity to prepare public opinion for declaring a war of annihilation against that organization, and to approve a declaration of war in Lebanon in order to destroy its infrastructure and to bring, finally, a military solution to the problem of the existence of that organization! And he is silent! Why, why?

Maybe this is because all the comparisons have been made, maybe because all of this ammunition ran out in order to gain approval for the war in Lebanon, because of which we have reached this stage. Maybe because these days, in the eighth month since the war, after the latest attacks on the buses in Lebanon and Tel Aviv, it is not possible as it was before, to boast and to mock the PLO because we have just seen these days that two or three PLO men had the courage to attack a military vehicle endangering their lives, and again they are not firing at civilian targets — it is simply not kind to remind the Israeli people why Israeli forces were sent to Lebanon.

Maybe because it is not at all kind today to handle the muddy Lebanese subject, when again it is not possible to obtain any easy demagogic gain from the subject, and only with painful scars it could be obtained.

Indeed, what did the Viennese-Jewish satirist Karl Kraus say? All of us know what silence conceals: it is not cleverness and not great wisdom, it conceals only the simple fact that there is nothing to say . . .

Regarding the silence of the prime minister, it unveils a further fact: a complete bankruptcy of the policies of the government on all fronts. What this government did to unify the people is reflected in the swastikas which were drawn on walls in Tel Aviv accompanied by Nazi writings. The moral level of the government is reflected in the defense minister's statements — the tearer of the testicles and the bankruptcy of foreign and security policy is reflected in the wave of attacks which the country has never before known. In light of all this, it is better for the prime minister to fill his mouth with water. Maybe this is the first time for five years that he does exactly the right thing at the right time.

(Translation: Al Hamishmar, 12.1.83)

UNTIL WHEN?

To the Editor

I am a graduate of Najah National University. I graduated on September 2, 1982. I now present you with a problem; it is my problem and at the same time that of a wide sector of university graduates who are not working and who are looking for a way to earn a living in this good land.

I do not exaggerate when I say that I pant for breath from the exertion of running after any advertisement for an available job, even if it is outside the field of my studies. As you know, the student studies for over 16 years in order to get a certificate which is the beginning of forging a path to benefit him (or her)self and those around, under the difficult conditions in which we live.

It is extremely regrettable that none of this has been achieved . . . because there is simply no work after graduation.

Until when will society remain silent on this matter? Until when will society remain without the smallest movement? Aren't we graduates, your sons and daughters, children of this patient country and people?

Salim Abu Zant

WEST BANK LAWYERS vs. THE COURTS
THE CLIENT LOSES

by Daoud Kuttab

As of January 15, all court fees levied in the West Bank's civil courts will be doubled. The fees are collected in Jordanian dinars and the doubling of the fees is a big burden on litigants. With court fees for a case in the magistrate court of first instance set at a maximum of JD 720, West Bank residents will be making fewer and fewer trips to their legal counsels.

The doubling of court fees is but one of the many problems that face anyone who wants to make a living by being a public defender in the occupied territories.

From the Beginning

Immediately following the occupation of the West Bank in 1967 the Israeli military commander issued a proclamation freezing all Jordanian laws, then in force, with two conditions: that laws do not contradict Israeli military orders and do not contradict changes arising by virtue of the occupation.

Since then over 1000 military orders have been issued by the Israeli military commander, drastically changing and altering Jordanian law in all areas and have reduced the authority of the local civil courts by shifting jurisdiction to military courts and objections committees, both run by Israeli judges. In addition, the Israeli authorities abolished the court of cessation (the top appeals court in the judicial apparatus) and transfered the appeals court from Jerusalem to a Ramallah vegetable market and applied Israeli law to Jerusalem.

The West Bank branch of the Jordanian Bar Association declared a strike for lawyers and judges to protest these moves — which are contrary to international laws and the Geneva Convention. With the Israeli occupation extending much longer than the six months to a year that most had predicted, many lawyers broke rank in order to provide the public with a satisfactory means for legally remedying wrongs.

Effects of Israeli Interference

Striking and working lawyers both agree on one thing: the standard of the court system in the West Bank is very low. Practising lawyers complain their work is obstructed at every level. Unlike engineers, doctors, dentists, and pharmacists, who are unionised, lawyers are without a practising bar association. The granting of licenses and control of the legal profession has been carried out by an Israeli officer in charge of the judiciary. Lawyer-trainees complain that they are not granted their licenses directly after finishing the required two-year apprenticeship. Besides their professional requirements, lawyers are obliged to obtain a good conduct certificate as part of the requirements laid down before receiving a license to practise. One lawyer is said to have been refused a license because of his political activities. Ten lawyers are reported to have been waiting for one month to get their certificates after the expiration of the required period.

After obtaining certificates, young lawyers along with the rest of the West Bank jurists, have to deal with a highly corrupt and inefficient judicial system. Jurists say that the low salaries paid by the Israeli military government coupled with the Israelis' lack of concern for the West Bank's civil courts are major reasons for the deterioration.

To submit a case or any other application to judicial departments, advocates have to deal with underpaid employees who do their work grudgingly and who often have to seek other ways to supplement their meager pay.

Judges are not any better off financially. According to informed sources, former president of the Ramallah court of appeals and the inspector of West Bank courts, Nihad Jarrallah, told the visiting general secretary of the International Commission of Jurists, that "the low salaries of West Bank judges is an open invitation to bribery."

Speaking to **Al Fajr**, Jarrallah affirmed that the reputation of the judges has become very low but he refused to excuse corruption. "Integrity must be a character trait of any judge; dishonesty cannot be excused for any reason," he said. But he lashed out at the Israeli authorities for intefering in the judicial system and exceeding their rights as an occupying power. "I used to be consulted about the appointment of judges during the early years of the occupation, but in the past few years the authorities have been appointing whoever they like." The former court president, who is well-respected by local and Israeli jurists, noted that this interference is what caused him to decide on early retirement two years ago. Jarrallah has not been replaced as inspector of the West Bank courts since that time.

The absence of the important position of inspector was raised in an International Commission of Jurists publication, entitled "The West Bank and the Rule of Law." The book was written by two local lawyers, Raja Shehadeh and Jonathan Kuttab, co-directors of the West Bank-based Law in the Service of Man chapter of the ICJ. The publication criticises Israel for not upholding the concept of 'the rule of law' and mentions problems facing local lawyers in the West Bank courts.

In an updated version of the same publication to be released in Geneva soon, the authors discuss the problems of the legal profession: "Lawyers are often met with the assertion that no application forms or stationary are available and that they will become available only after the return of the Israeli officer responsible for providing it who is on two months leave doing his military service," or that "the clerk who is carrying on the work of three or four employees just cannot help them."

The study states that in Nablus in 1982, two magistrate courts and three courts of first instance suffered a lack of stationary, including writing paper, for several months.

In a Ramallah court/JS

Process Servers

Having succeeded in submitting his/her case or application, the next hurdle in front of the persistent litigant (and s/he must be persistent to utilise West Bank courts) is the scarcity of 'process servers.' Ramallah district, for example, with a population of 88,000, has only two servers — without motor vehicles — who have to carry out their work notifying the concerned parties at the start of a case involving them.

When the case finally comes to trial, lawyers have to contend with long delays in hearing the case due to the overload of cases, or more recently, say practising advocates, due to the absence of judges. During the second week of August 1982, one West Bank lawyer faced five adjournments in the courts of Ramallah, Bethlehem, Jericho and tulkarm because of the absence of a judge. Lawyers complained to **Al Fajr** that they are not even notified until they reach the court of a judge's absence.

Court clerks and recorders have to work in the reception office and at the telephone in addition to their regular duties in the court room itself. Many court sessions have been held up because of a lack of a recorder to jot down the details of the session. When employees go on holidays no one replaces them, leaving a vacuum in the process.

Bar Association

The absence of a body to regulate the work of practising lawyers has caused many problems for advocates and clients alike. In addition to its duty to issue licenses, a bar association has the right to withdraw a license and to listen to complaints about lawyers with the possibility of investigating and disciplining lawyers accused of irregularities. A bar association is also responsible for the preservation and the analysis of existing laws, legislation and cases.

In most countries bar associations publish a quarterly review keeping lawyers abreast with the latest regulations affecting the legal profession. With the West Bank branch of the Jordanian Bar Association on strike since 1967, the legal profession misses these reviews. Now barristers rely on their own efforts or, recently, those of a small organisation, attempting to help practicing lawyers.

Bar associations are encharged with keeping the profession clean of fraud, corruption and exploitation, in addition to exposing contradictory decisions and fostering debate on controversial laws and legislation.

West Bank lawyers complain that legal precedents of cases during the past 15 years have not been recorded or made available to lawyers. "This allows judges to work as they wish, often issuing contradictory decisions," says veteran lawyer Aziz Shehadeh, who has been practising law since the days of the British mandate. He says that the Jordanian law system — a mixture of English, French and Islamic legal systems — was served a terrible blow by the Israeli action of removing the important court of cessation. Shehadeh, who was critical of the legal system under Jordanian law, says that the present legal system is a "farce," with no control whatsoever by legislators, judges or lawyers.

Military Court

Besides civil courts and religious courts, the Israeli authorities set up a military court to oversee and hear cases having to do with what they call "security matters." Although lawyers say that the military court is more efficient than the civil court, lawyers complain that it is very restrictive. Appeals are not allowed. There are also objections committees which are empowered only to give recommendations to the military governor of the West Bank and which handle areas such as: declaration of state lands, pensions, and tax assesments.

Military court precedents, an important collection necessary for lawyers serving at military courts, have not been published despite repeated requests. Some lawyers on a individual basis have tried to collect military decisions and have effectively used them in limiting the sentencing of their clients.

MOTIVATING SETTLERS AND BLOCKING PALESTINIAN CONSTRUCTION IS ISRAEL'S OFFICIAL POLICY

by Dani Rubenstein

Driving at night on the Jerusalem-Hebron road one can see that the buildings of the new township settlement of Efrat, opposite Gush Etzion, are still uninhabited. The mountain on which the houses of Efrat stand is absolutely dark. Only a few lights on its northern corner can be seen. An official in the Jewish Agency, who deals with settlement affairs, told me that there are problems of populating the new township. The entry of registered settlers has been delayed several times.

Efrat was built before Ma'aleh Adumim, but the new neighbourhoods surrounding East Jerusalem and Ma'aleh Adumim are closer to the city and attract more settlers. Ma'aleh Adumim is being populated quickly; more buildings are being built around it, and travel to Jerusalem on the new road which connects the neighbourhood to the city takes seven minutes. Efrat is farther; the road leading to it is windy and passes through the streets of Bethlehem, alongside Arab villages in the south. In Efrat, it is more difficult to sell homes.

The Israelis who are settling in the West Bank today want maximum comfort. It is easy to sell a villa 10 minutes drive from Kfar Saba "a township close to the 1967 borders," as the newspapers advertisements say, or an apartment near Ramallah, and it is difficult to sell houses and apartments near Hebron, Nablus, Jenin and Jericho. The real settlement today is that taking place within the municipal area of Jerusalem and on the western slopes of the Samaria hills. Settlement inside the (pre-'67) borders is limping along very slowly. The old settlements (from the time of the Labour party) are still far from being part of a success story. The settlements near Nablus and in the north of the West Bank, too, on the road to Jenin or in the south of the West Bank are very few.

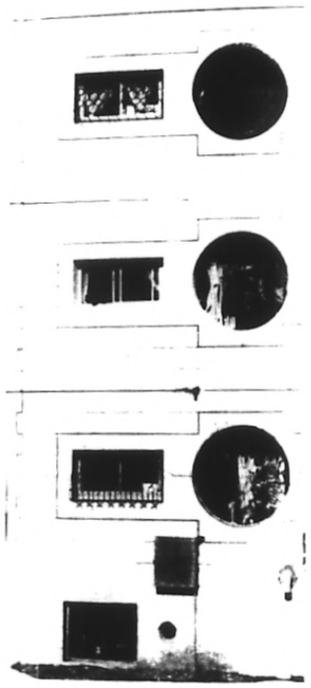
The directors of settlement for the Likud government, Housing and Deputy Prime Minister David Levi, Deputy Minister Michael Dekel and the head of the settlement department in the Jewish Agency, Matityahu Drobless, are competing to make improvements and attract settlers, but they have not made Israelis more pioneering or ready to sacrifice. They have succeeded in drawing young couples and people from the middle classes (interestingly, not from the slum dwellers) to improve their housing conditions, staying near where they now live. But the number of those who want to live in "real" settlements in the heart of the territories remains small.

While hundreds of housing units have been built for Israelis in the heart of the areas around Hebron, Nablus and Jenin, West Bank Arabs have built thousands of houses over these years. Arab construction in these areas grew at a very fast rate in the last decade.

Hebron, which spread out to all the mountains around, put into the shadows all the projects of Rabbi Levinger in Kiryat Arba. The thousands of Israelis who came and who are coming to the West Bank are concentrating in the areas in which the future construction of the Arabs is supposed to progress.

The latest demographic-balance considerations are far from impressive — the 20,000 to 30,000 Israelis (the official plans call for 100,000) who are concentrated in the surroundings of Jerusalem "10 minutes from Kfar Saba," do not share the positions of the 850,000 West Bank and Jerusalem Arabs. And if we take into account the tens of thousands of Arabs who work in the Gulf states and Jordan — those whose only home is the West Bank — the situation of Israeli settlement no longer flourishes.

This picture is very clear to senior Israeli officials, to Gush Emunim activists and others who are involved in settlement activities. In order to bring about the actual annexation of the West Bank it is not enough for them to try to encourage and motivate settlers, but more importantly to block and limit the expansion of Arab construction and development. The most energetic action that has been taken in this field up to now is the seizure of land. Much land has been seized by Israel under the pretext of security, settlement, or confiscation for public purposes. Through the military orders which declare uncultivated areas state land, it is apparently possible to seize about one-third of the West Bank. In different areas, "nature reserves" were claimed, absentee lands were taken, large master plans for Jewish settlements were drawn up, while Arab construction was prevented for security reasons. When, for instance, they (the Israeli government) build a road in the West Bank, there is fear that Arab construction will expand on both sides of it. Therefore large strips of 150 meters and more are confiscated on both sides of the street as if they are building airport runways.



In a series of areas (Ramallah and Bethlehem, for example) narrow and limited construction zones were determined for every Arab village or town, and it is forbidden to go beyond them. At a time when the Israeli settlers can turn to Michael Dekel and to Matityahu Drobless and receive almost any plot they like, pressures on Arab authorities to diminish the construction zones are continuing and getting stronger. Here and there private patrols are made-up by Gush Emunim.

In Kiryat Arba, whose settlers are looking with worry at the major development of Hebron, the local council initiated the destruction of electricity pylons which provide power to some Arab houses. The reason was that they were in the development area of Kiryat Arba. The area is barren and far from the settlement, but for the settlers this is dangerous, because all Arab construction endangers them.

Lately, it has been learned that Tehiya MK Hanan Porat and others intend to form observation teams to prevent the Arabs from "taking over state lands." One Gush Emunim leader explained on the radio that these teams will operate like the "Green Patrol" inside Israel. Because it is not possible now to draw Israeli settlers into the heart of the area, those who plan settlement, and Gush Emunim, will be working to focus the attention on pressure to limit and lessen Arab construction, whose expansion is a thorn in their eyes.

(Translation: Davar, 11. 1. 83)

Photos this page, Ma'ale Adumim/ Jam

NEARLY ACCOMPLISHED FACTS

By Yehuda Litani

When King Hussein of Jordan declared, this week, that there are only seven weeks left for the Arabs to enter the negotiations process, for fear that the West Bank is going to be lost because of the quickly increasing settlements, he did not exaggerate. There are those who think that he even extended the date. One of the astonishing things which has not been published until now is the number of dunums which have been claimed as "state land" in the latest few years in the West Bank, in a way that enables settlements to be set up on them. Since this process began, (claiming land as state lands where the local residents can only appeal before civil administration committees and not before the High Court) the state has seized about 150,000 dunums in all parts of the West Bank.

Elements in the government who deal with this subject say that in light of this figure, the lands which were purchased (by Israelis) and registered in the tabu (land ownership documents) by different government departments are of little importance. According to them, less than 10,000 dunums have been bought, so far. Purchase, the same elements say, does not significantly change Israel's control of land. What is important is the process of claiming state lands. According to them, the efforts on settlement in the West Bank are concentrating mainly in the area south of the Hebron mountains, where lately "tens of thousands" of dunums were claimed as state lands. In the West Bank there are about 5.5 million dunums, of which 1.5 million are considered in some way or other government land. Of these, only 0.5 million dunums are registered in the tabu as state lands. Efforts, the same elements explain, are made now in order to transform the remaining 1 million dunums to 'organized lands' and to register them in the tabu in the name of the state. Out of these million dunums, about 150,000 dunums have been claimed as state lands in the last five years.

The West Bank has changed its face without doubt, the government elements say. Compared to nearly 400 Arab villages, there exist 100 Jewish settlements that have their own infrastructure — streets, electricity, and roads.

Now, about 4000 dunums in the south-west of the West Bank are going to be devoted to a township called Batir. The Nofim company, for example, received from the government 3000 dunums at no price, on which 700-800 housing units are going to be built (in the centre of the West Bank).

Governmental lands which are not possible to clear at present for lack of funds are, according to government sources, given to local Jewish councils, to prevent Arabs from settling there.

Not only King Hussein, but others have cause to worry.

(Translation: Haaretz, 14. 1. 83)

Conversation With Sabri Jiryis

DESPITE ISRAEL'S BEIRUT VANDALISM, RESEARCH EMPLOYEES WITHSTOOD

By Maxim Gilan

I have known Sabri Jiryis, the director of the PLO Research Institute, for 23 years. In 1960 we participated, together with about a hundred Arab and Jewish intellectuals, in a protest meeting against the military government in Acre. Since that time much water has flowed in the Yarkon, as well as in the Litani river; Jiryis published his book, **The Arabs in Israel**, in Tel Aviv. It constitutes a turning point in the research on the Arab community in the country. He worked as a lawyer in Jerusalem and in the Galilee. He was held for periods for interrogation. He emigrated and settled in Beirut, and there he disclosed that all the time he had been a senior member in a clandestine FATAH cell inside Israel.

In Beirut, Jiryis worked as a consultant on Israeli affairs to Yasir Arafat and subsequently, following his reports on what was going to happen in Israel after the '73 war, he was appointed in 1974, director of the Research Institute — the PLO equivalent of the Truman Institute.

The Research Institute deals with, amongst other things, publishing the monthly magazine 'Palestinian Affairs' **(Shu'un Falistiniyya)**, researching into literature and the press in Israel, and publishing a daily bulletin which keeps track of all Israeli radio and television broadcasts. This bulletin is distributed to 600 cadres of all Palestinian organizations and institutions worldwide.

"When the Israeli forces entered West Beirut, I immediately took my graduation certificate from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem off the wall and took it with me underground," says Sabri Jiryis. "But I took out the photocopies of the certificate which were in my drawer, and put them on my desk in the place to which I had to move temporarily. When I returned, I discovered that the certificates, together with many other things, had been taken. In place the Israeli soldiers and officers had written swear words in Hebrew. It was clear to them that I would understand.

"The intelligence people and the soldiers who were in the institute had devastated the place. They stole, simply stole, everything they could take: typewriters, telephones, and the also relieved themselves in the middle of the rooms, on each and every floor.

"The place looked like a hurricane had hit it, as if vandals or wild beasts had swept through it," adds Sabri, with a bitter smile. They took papers, research files, radios, and they broke doors and windows. In short the aim was to destroy, not only to investigate."

Not just Sabri Jiryis tells this story. Visitors to Beirut, and the world press, especially the **International Herald Tribune**, reported the devastation in detail. Above the institute there are normal apartments; in one of them lived a Palestinian woman with a Lebanese passport. She is the sister of Professor Walid Khalidi, an international researcher who is a fellow of Harvard University in the US and who publishes the Journal of Palestine Studies, a high-level quarterly devoted to Palestine research. In her apartment, as in all Lebanese apartments, she had had weapons for self-defense: a hunting gun and an ordinary gun. As the soldiers entered the building, she turned to the officer, and handed him the keys saying, "Take and look for what you want but please do not destroy. This is a private apartment."

The officer ignored the request, instructed the soldiers to break the door open, to enter and take everything they wanted. When they discovered the two guns, they really went crazy. One of the soldiers relieved himself on the refrigerator.

Sabri Jiryis went underground. "Never mind," he said, smiling, "I was already used to that. Shafiq al-Hout, diplomatic representative of the PLO, and over 70 other Palestinian employees of the Research Institute did the same.

"The Israeli forces acted contrary to their own law," Jiryis remarks, "contrary to international law and to their own law." Philip Habib agreed with Ariel Sharon in spirit and letter that after the evacuation two Palestinian institutions would remain: the Research Institute and the diplomatic representative: al-Hout.

"Both of us, Shafiq and myself, have senior diplomatic status, which is recognized by the Lebanese government. Even the Phalangists did not oppose this. All the parties to the evacuation agreement were united on this point; that we would stay in Beirut, as we have legal and diplomatic status."

But Sharon violated this article in Habib's agreement just as he violated other more important articles, the non-entry of Israeli forces into Beirut, for example. Sabri shrugs his shoulders. "The employees of the institute and myself withstood. When the Israeli forces imposed a siege on every Palestinian or Arab who belonged to the Lebanese Progressive Forces, we stayed underground."

The people of the PLO diplomatic mission, with Shafiq al-Hout at their head, were forced to escape and went to Damascus. Sabri stayed underground until dozens of his people had left.

"When I returned to the institute," he says, "I only had 50 people with me. We all worked, with all our effort, to rebuild what had been destroyed."

"To our good luck, there was microfilm of most of the material, so it was replaceable. But the Israeli forces also took our library, containing 25,000 Hebrew books of all kinds: history, literature, research, philosophy and Zionism.

"Afterwards I read an article in **Maariv** in which someone expressed surprise that Hebrew books had been found in our place. Why are they surprised, these jokers? What did they expect to find in an institute devoted to research on Israel? Ancient scrolls?"

Sabri adds with conviction that after the end of the battles and the transfer of PLO headquarters to Tunis, when the executive committee of the organisation met, they praised the actions of the institute workers for not having left their posts even under fire and in the hour of occupation.

Says Jiryis, smiling, "They ordered me to continue and stay in my job, as agreed and permitted by the Lebanese government."

After he was appointed, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel contacted Sabri Jiryis, who had returned to his office, and apologized in the name of the Lebanese government, that the agreement had not been kept by the Israelis. He promised the institute's director that the agreement would be honoured, according to the agreement with Philip Habib, and that Jiryis and al-Hout would enjoy diplomatic status.

"It's true that since then there has been strict inspection, including tax-inspection, of our people," he relates, "but the fact is that in everything relating to both of us and to the affairs of the institute, the Lebanese authorities keep to their agreement."

Jiryis is occupied with research and he is about to complete a second book, **The History of Zionism**. His first book dealt with the early years of the British mandate.

I asked him whether the third and final book, dealing with the period from 1939 until the present, would be the longest and the hardest of all. "The opposite," said Jiryis. "It will be the easiest and shortest section of all. This period has been covered from all angles by other people. I want to show why Zionism developed as it did."

(Translation: Bamerhav, December 1982)

WHAT BEGIN AND REAGAN DIDN'T WANT YOU TO KNOW

Part IV

MOSSAD: Methods of Operation

In this week's excerpt from the 1979 CIA and US State Department documents, originally published in CounterSpy magazine, we focus on the Mossad's methods of operation: how and where the Israeli intelligence service works outside Israel and with who.

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March 1979

Israel

Foreign Intelligence and Security Services

secret

Mossad over the years has enjoyed some rapport with highly-placed persons and government offices in every country of importance to Israel. Within Jewish communities in almost every country of the world, there are Zionists and other sympathizers, who render strong support to the Israeli intelligence effort. Such contacts are carefully nurtured and serve as channels for information, deception material, propaganda and other purposes. Mossad directs clandestine operations throughout Europe, including the USSR and East European countries; North and South America; the Near East; Africa; and the Far East, including South East Asia. Mossad activities are generally conducted through Israeli official and semi-official establishments; deep cover enterprise in the form of firms and organisations, some especially created for, or adaptable to, a specific objective, and penetrations effected within non-Zionist national and international Jewish organizations.

The function of intelligence officers under cover of diplomatic establishments is to arrange information exchanges with officials of local services, manage communications, serve as accommodation addresses and funding channels, and direct agents toward targets of interest. Official organisations used for cover are: Israeli Purchasing Missions and Israeli Government Tourist, El Al and Zim offices. Israeli construction firms, industrial groups and international trade organisations also provide non-official cover. Individuals working under deep or illegal cover are normally charged with penetrating objectives that require a long-range, more subtle approach, or with activities in which the Israeli government can never admit complicity.

The Israeli intelligence service depends heavily on the various Jewish communities and organisations abroad for recruiting agents and eliciting general information. The aggressively ideological nature of Zionism, which emphasizes that all Jews belong to Israel and must return to Israel, has had its drawbacks in enlisting support for intelligence operations, however, since there is considerable opposition to Zionism among Jews throughout the world. Aware of this fact, Israeli intelligence representatives usually operate discreetly within Jewish communities and are under instruction to handle their missions with utmost tact to avoid embarrassment to Israel. They also attempt to penetrate anti-Zionist elements in order to neutralize the opposition. Despite such precautions, the Israelis frequently experience setbacks and there have been several cases where attempted recruitments of Americans of the Jewish faith have been rejected and reported to US authorities.

Israel's program for accelerating its technological, scientific and military development as rapidly as possible has been enhanced by exploiting scientific exchange programs. Mossad plays a key role in this endeavor. In addition to the large-scale acquisition of published scientific papers and technical journals from all over the world through overt channels, the Israelis devote a considerable portion of their covert operations to obtaining scientific and technical intelligence. This has included attempts to penetrate certain classified defense projects in the United States and other Western nations.

The United Nations is a major target for Mossad penetration because it is a major sponsor of international exchanges in all fields and because of its importance in settling disputes between Israel and the Arab states. Israeli agents operate at the UN under diplomatic and journalistic cover.

Contemplated operations against East European countries are approached very cautiously, and entail a great deal of headquarters planning and control and a special branch composed of area experts is responsible for authorizing and directing this activity. Mossad is especially interested in early warning regarding such developments as the dispatch of Soviet military units from the USSR to the Near East. There also exists within, or affiliated with, Mossad a small unit whose sole objective is to remind the Soviets through propaganda and contacts about the Jewish question at any point throughout the world. All sorts of people, even Cyrus Eaton, have been stimulated to raise the subject Israeli efforts must at times be effective because the Soviets often attack the Israeli service in their propaganda with detailed revelations of Israeli plots against allegedly innocent Soviet citizens.

Many Arabs, especially walk-ins, have directly or indirectly helped the services, usually as a result of monetary inducements, but the Israelis do not consider these Arabs good sources of reliable information. More often, they recruit Palestinians over whom they may have more control because of bank assets frozen in Israel since the war in 1948. In certain cases these bank assets have been released for intelligence services rendered.

The Israelis are prepared to capitalize on nearly every kind of agent motivation. A substantial effort is made to appeal to Jewish racial or religious proclivities, pro-Zionism, dislike of anti-Semitism, anti-Soviet feelings (if applicable) and humanitarian instincts Blackmail is also used. Other recruiting techniques include the proffer of money, business opportunities, or release from prison.

The Israelis have used false-flag recruitment pitches extensively and successfully. In several cases they approached citizens of Western European nations under the cover of a national NATO intelligence organisation for operations in Arab target countries.

Although an agent occasionally may be sent to Israel for special training, this course of action is neither easy nor inexpensive to accomplish. Therefore, the intelligence officer himself is usually responsible for training the agent in the fundamentals of tradecraft, security measures, and the use of radio and code communications. If the exigencies of the situation demand special training, the Israelis rent an apartment for this purpose in places like Paris and New York. Agents who have been so trained were taught to mix and use secret ink; conceal documents and letters on the person; deliver information to secure hiding places; and to communicate otherwise with the case officer and/or headquarters.

LIAISON WITH FOREIGN SERVICES — Mossad has liaison relationships with many intelligence and security services throughout the world. With a few exceptions, the Directorate of Foreign Liaison and Political Action is responsible for relations with most foreign organisations. In most instances the point of contact is abroad in foreign capitals, although some foreign services insist on liaison in Israel.

At present Mossad, in coordination with Shin Bet, maintains liaison with foreign intelligence and security services through membership in the 'Kilowatt' group, an organisation which is concerned with Arab terrorism and is comprised of West Germany, Belgium, Italy, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, France, Canada Ireland, Sweden, Norway and Israel. The Israelis also have informal connections regarding terrorism with other European nations; including Spain, Portugal and Austria.

The Israelis have over the years made efforts to break the Arab ring encircling Israel by involvement with non-Arab Muslim nations in the Near East. A formal trilateral liaison called the 'Trident' organization was established by Mossad with Turkey's National Security Service (TNSS) and Iran's National Organization for Intelligence and Security (SAVAK) in late 1958. Since the original agreement there has been an addition to Mossad's bilateral relationship with each service. The Trident organization involves continuing intelligence exchange plus semiannual meetings at the chief of service level.

The general terms of the original agreement with the Turks, aside from legitimizing Israeli liaison with Turkey, stated that Mossad would furnish information on the activity of Soviet agents in Turkey and those working against Turkey throughout the Middle East. In return, the Turks agreed to supply Israel with information on the political intentions of the Arab countries which could affect the security of Israel, and the activity and identifications of UAR agents working against Israel. The Israeli service has also given the Turks counterespionage and technical training.

The main purpose of the Israeli relationship with Iran was the development of a pro-Israel and anti-Arab policy on the part of Iranian officials. Mossad has engaged in joint operations with SAVAK over the years since the late 1950s. Mossad aided SAVAK activities and supports the Kurds in Iraq. The Israelis also regularly transmitted to the Iranians intelligence reports on Egypt's activities in the Arab countries, trends and developments in Iraq, and Communist activities affecting Iran.

Israeli liaison in Africa has varied considerably from country to country, depending on the exigencies of the situation. Israeli intelligence activities in Africa have usually been carried out under the cover of military and police training, arms sales to national military forces, and aid and development programs. The Arab nations, in conjunction with the Organization of African Unity, have brought great pressure to bear on most African nations to break all formal ties with Israel. Despite the break in diplomatic relations between Israel and many of the African nations, the Israelis still maintain good intelligence liaison with certain African services. The Israelis also have relations with the Kenyan Service. In Central Africa the Israelis are still active in Zaire. In West Africa the Israelis trained the Liberian Security Service and police. They also helped establish the Ghanaian Military Intelligence Service. In southern Africa the Israelis have a relationship with the South African intelligence and security services.

The Israelis have been very active in Latin America over the years. One of the greatest intelligence coups, the capture of Adolph Eichmann, the former Nazi leader, occurred in Argentina. Recently, much of their liaison activity in Latin America has centered on training and antiterrorist operations. The Israeli Consulate in Rio de Janeiro, for example, provides cover for a Mossad regional station responsible for Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Officers from this post have gone to Buenos Aires to give training to the Argentines; in the course of these contacts the Israelis recommended greater involvement in joint antiterrorist operations. The Israelis also maintain liaison with security services of Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Caracas is the Regional Center for north and western Latin America and Central America.

The Israelis have operated for sometime in East Asia. They have provided intelligence training to the government of the Republic of China and maintain liaison with it. The Israelis also have relations with the Japanese, Thai, Indonesia, and South Korean services, especially on terrorist matters. The major Mossad regional center in East Asia is in Singapore. The Israeli relation chief there frequently travels throughout the area and conducts business with services in the neighbouring nations. Indonesia as a Muslim nation does not have formal diplomatic ties with Israel. The Mossad-Indonesian relationship, therefore, is very discreet. The Mossad representative in Singapore is accredited to the Indonesian service. There are also Mossad officers in Jakarta under commercial cover. The primary reason for the Indonesian liaison is to gain aid in counterterrorist efforts. The Israelis, on the other hand, are not only engaging in antiterrorist relations but also have an opportunity to collect information and engage in political action in another Muslim power.

Palestine and Literature

Motherhood

by Giuseppi Fanciulli

Local Palestinian literary periodicals have turned, after the war in Lebanon, to publishing foreign writers in their concern to explore and develop a literature of human suffering.

Motherhood, is an Italian short story, for which Giuseppi Fanciulli has acquired much local acclaim. In it, the author has widened the meaning of motherhood to include not only one mother's attachment to her wounded son, but to all wounded.

In the recent past, wounded Palestinian children, men and women were taken to hospitals in many countries of the world. There are now thousands of mothers who have to travel thousands of miles to see their children, and many of thousands wounded, who have lost their mothers.

The rustling of the high poplar leaves was at times vigorous and at other times inaudible, as if they were slow-motion wings fluttering on the stern silent plain. The roughly furrowed road, between two lines of white trees continued, streaming towards the horizon. The large and small ditches on the road had gathered water which glistened here and there. Along the road sides, the fields extended without end and their surfaces were colourless. A grey fog hovered in patches over the land and its clouds intensified around the road. Here and there willow trees, with their bare branches, swayed like braided sunbeams falling upon the earth through the clouds.

Nothing in this scene conveyed the slightest impression of the existence of a life, no column of smoke ascending from chimney tops, no striking of church bells, no fluttering of birds' wings overhead. Only a black figure seemed to be moving along the road. It was a woman. She was the only creature and her existence expressed to a horrible degree the melancholic desolation dominating the whole region.

She was coming from one very remote place, going to another remote place, and she seemed to care little about the surroundings. She had walked for a long time, and was exhausted. Her feet were tired and were no longer able to carry her body.

She suffered from sharp blisters on her swollen toes which pressed against the tops of her shoes. Two hanging baskets encumbered her shoulders. You saw her walking unconsciously as if in a dream. The shredded areas of fog were clinging together firmly, the horizon was blackened and the stern day was preparing itself to don the robe of night. There, where the road was curving around a nearby channel, two long shadows suddenly appeared. A voice addressed the woman:

"Stop."

The exhausted woman stopped a few steps away from the steam emanating from the nostrils of a horse standing before her.

Again the voice said vigorously: "Who are you? Where are you going?"

The sound fell on the woman's ears like the yelps of a wolf. She took one step back and with a great effort which she imagined lasted a long time, she released a painful sigh, but did not utter a word. The fat policeman dismounted from his horse and his young companion jumped down to stand at his side before her. At last the woman was able to find her voice but as if it was something not belonging to her, she said:

"I am looking for my son."

She put her hand inside her clothes covering her chest, took out a yellow envelope and handed it to the fat policeman to read. She said, putting it back in its place:

"Is there a long way to go?"

"No. Only two kilometers, and we are returning there, so you can accompany us!"

At that moment, the two horses turned around. The fat policeman mounted his horse. The other policeman lifted the two baskets onto his horse and walked by the woman's side, slowly leading his horse. The hooves of the two horses plunged and waded through the mud and their hooves echoed, their nostrils snorted, interrupting the desolation of the road.

The woman began stealing glances at the policeman walking at her side, and asked herself: "What would he say if I asked him about my son?" – for all her being was embodied in this question. The question had been formed in her bosom and then forced itself up until it reached her organ of speech, and at that point, dissipated again out of fear and shame. And then it formed again to disappear once more, leaving her disappointed and bitter. At last she decided to say something to get rid of the silence. She asked her companion without much attention:

"Are there many wounded in the hospital?"

It was not the question that she wanted to ask, so the policeman's reply seemed not to be directed at her. He said: "Not so many now. I think there are about 60. You know that the hospital cannot hold more than 100 beds.

After a few moments, the policeman asked: "Have you come from far away?"

She answered simply: "From Ebersto."

Then darkness overcame the area, the peaks of the high trees disappeared in the gloom. Sounds emerged and remote beams of light began to glimmer periodically in the distance. Vague sounds reached their ears and gradually became clearer. They were sounds of automobiles moving very fast.

It was then, at that moment, that the explosion of the inflated rubber of a wheel was heard, along with military orders and shouts for help. The young policeman said to his companion. "We have arrived."

One of the two horses neighed. The woman walked behind the policeman, haggard and weak. The policeman, urging her to hurry said: "Mother, I've just told you. We've arrived."

This charming sound 'Mother' echoed in her heart, it revived her and filled her with vitality and activity.

Her eyes were troubled by the bright rays of a lamp. Pallor diffused her face which was dried up by the harsh sun of the fields.

An officer and a military chaplain were standing and examining papers. A nurse, dressed in white, joined them. Here, the question upon which the whole being of the woman was based, found its articulate pronouncement. She said: "Is my son here?"

The chaplain mumbled a name, the officer and the nurse exchanged glances. The officer then said: "Yes, he is here."

Her face reddened as she bent over her baskets, attempting to lift them. Then she said, her eyes moving around as if looking for her son: "Let's go! Let's go! Where is he now?" The nurse hesitated, while the chaplain patted her shoulder. Panic struck her and paleness diffused through the whole of her face. She said weakly: "Is he in very bad condition? Is he at the throes of death?"A sharp shudder convulsed her body. The chaplin anwered his face remaining stern: "No, no. Rest a little. We must first notify him. Besides, you need rest."

The woman shouted: "No, I won't take a rest, father. I've travelled 1000 miles to get here, and now I have found him. I want to see him immediately. Yes, yes, oh sweet young nurse, in the name of God, let me see him, let me kiss him."

A terrible moment passed. Then the officer said: "Take her to her son. She has the right. She is his mother."

All walked.

The light was pale, nothing could be seen but white figures on beds. The light was reflected faintly through some panes of glass and on the metal of the beds and windows. After a few moments all were able to see heads on pillows and arms moving weakly on covers.

The nurse stood behind a bed. The pains of the throes of death were terrible. The chaplain backed away and stood aside. The woman jumped to the side of the patient's pillow in curiosity and fear. Her eyes could see clearly. Before her was a pale round face, closed eyelids attached to blonde lashes, a small mouth like that of a child. The woman stood and observed the patient in amazement. She withdrew her hands from the dying patient, retreated and glanced at the nurse, full of hope and curiosity. She said: "He is not my son."

"Not your son?"

Under the lamp light, the nurse and her companions started re-examining the papers and comparing the names with the numbers on the bed. "No 47. Everything is correct: the name, code name, family, the infantry, are the same. There is only one thing that is different, the unit," the woman said in a stifled voice. "This patient is in unit three and my son is in unit one. Goodbye, I'll search for my son in other rooms, he is not the young man in the throes of death."

She turned around drowned in tears, between happiness and fright. A very faint voice reached her ears from 'No. 47,' calling her: "Mother."

The call came again: "Mother."

The woman turned towards him and returned to his bedside, muttering: "Salvatore."

The patient raised his hand slowly and with great effort to touch her hair. As the woman bent over him, she placed her lips on the brow of the unknown dying patient who thought she was his mother. The woman said fondly:

"Salvatore, my son."

The woman remained beside him, as strong as lead, while the tempests of perplexity, embarrassment and helplessness raged within her. Outside the wind was roaring like a tempest, lashing savagely at the shaking branches of the trees. (Translated from Al Jadid No. 11-12 Nov -Dec 1982)

A WOMAN I KNOW

A woman I know is always sad
Because her son is in her heart
Her son who died who died in the war

*****

His sweet features are still in her mind
Whenever she goes wherever she sits
He'll always be in her mind
Her son who died who died in the war

*****

Most of the time in her heart
She's weeping deeply beside the hearth
Without concern for the time
Shedding tears all the night
For her son who died who died in the war

*****

Thus she aspires to a great fire
In the bottom of her heart
But when she couldn't suffer any longer
She lay on the bed to die in the end
Because of
Her son who died who died in the war.

Ibrahim Bala'wi

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Israel says: Following in Sadat's footsteps is the only way to peace!
● اسرائيل تقول : اقتفاء خطى السادات هو الطريق الوحيد للسلام !
To peace
الى السلام
To peace

The meetings between PLO leaders and Israeli personalities, the talks between Lebanon and Israel and the top Palestinian conference leaders' meeting in Aden were the main topics of this week's Palestinian papers published in Jerusalem.

Al Fajr Arabic daily gave its lead story with a four-column picture on January 21, to the meetings between Israeli members of the Israel-Palestine Peace Council and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat.

The Lebanese-Israeli-US talks held in Khalde and Kiryat Shemonah were covered by all the papers. Al Quds more than once gave its lead to the topic. January 22's headline read: "Habib fails to convince Israel to back down on its demands."

Al Shaab daily had lead stories twice this week about the Aden summit between leaders of all PLO factions.

With Fez, Against Reagan

The primary political task facing the PLO is to preserve the Fez summit resolutions and to prevent some Arab states which appeared to support them, from undermining them in the interest of the submissive Reagan plan.

We say this not only because of pressure and practices trying to belittle resolutions calling for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, but also because these same resolutions found wide international understanding and Palestinian agreement at the Aden conference and serve to redress the current balance of power, support international efforts and essential Palestinian unity.

We do not think that under the current balance of power, diverting from these resolutions — to the left or right — is a positive contribution in opposing pressures which aim at weakening the PLO position and support for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state . . .

These interests should be central. It is by offering tangible objectives to the masses, not by arguing over the Fez resolutions, that their movement will grow towards redressing the balance of power.

Perhaps the forthcoming Aden conference will strengthen national unity and lay the basis for fruitful results from the coming meetings of the Palestinian National Council through struggling for the right of self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

AL TALIA
January 20

The Palestinian-Israeli Meeting

The meeting which took place recently between the head of the PLO Executive Committee, Yasir Arafat, and a number of leaders of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, if it is indicative of anything, indicates the certain Palestinian desire to arrive at a just and honourable peace on the basis of the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish an independent state on national soil.

Two years ago, the Palestine National Council asserted the importance of a dialogue with progressive and democratic forces within Israel. Thus Arafat's meeting with Uri Avnery, Mati Peled and Ya'acov Arnon is no maneuver or propaganda campaign, but is part of a serious dialogue between democratic Israeli forces who recognise the Palestinian people, and the legitimate Palestinian leadership that does not hesitate to talk with these forces.

AL FAJR
January 21

Palestinian Action is Right

Since the Fez resolutions were declared and since the Arab peace plan, which gained worldwide support, was put forward, it has become clear that this plan called for a strong political push to move it forward to actual implementation.

Since the plan was put forward, Palestinian diplomatic and political action has been moving on all levels and in international and Arab fields. This action has been pushing towards continuing Arab readiness to implement the peace plan and stopping any sign of retreat by the Arab countries.

Palestinian diplomacy has been able, to a large extent, to strengthen the Arab position on preserving national Arab interests, the main one of which is the legitimate national right of the Palestinian people.

The rightness of thir action, led by Yasir Arafat, leader of the PLO Executive Committee, will not be impeded by any sickness with which some Arab regimes are trying to infect the healthy Palestinian body and which through its long experience, has proved its soudness and strength concerning the national interest of the Palestinian people.

This is what the coming meeting of the Palestinian National Council in Algeria will express.

AL FAJR
January 22

The Egyption Role

The letter reportedly sent by Yasir Arafat, head of the PLO executive committee, to Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, reaffirms the importance of Egypt and the Egyptian role in the current phase of the Palestinian issue which is remarkable for the unusual wealth of international and Arab political efforts to find a just solution for it.

Official Egyptian reactions to Palestinian rapprochement have, in general, been positive. This is what the Palestinians are used to from their Egyptian brethren, who in the near and distant past symbolised generosity and sacrifice for the Arab cause in general and the Palestinian cause in particular. Thus the Palestinian-Egyptian dialogue is expected to continue and deepen in the service of the Arab cause and destiny.

Arafat's letter to President Mubarak can be regarded as the peak of this dialogue and will undoubtedly have consequences. Everyone is loooking to Egypt to play its role. This is what the Arabs and undoubtedly the Egyptian people want.

AL QUDS
January 24

Aden Meetings

The meetings of the Palestinian leadership held in Aden are extremely special and important because they precede the 16th session of the Palestinian National Council to be held in Algeria on February 14.

The most important point on the agenda of these meetings is the preparation of a programme for the session of the PNC and outlining the main planks of the unified Palestinian position which the session's resolutions will reflect and which will define Palestinian national work in the coming stage.

No doubt the experience and lessons of the war in Lebanon and the siege of Beirut will leave their mark on the direction of this work.

AL SHAAB
January 25

Palestinian Loyalty

The Palestinians belong, first and foremost, to Palestine; every Palestinian is loyal, first and foremost, to the Palestinian people. This is the basic principle. Anything else is an exception which cannot be measured or considered.

We do not believe that amongst the Palestinians there is any real disagreement or dispute over these facts, even if there are, certainly, disagreements and disputes over the ways and means to achieve Palestinian goals at this stage.

We find it necessary to mention this self-evident fact, so that matters should not be confused. There are those who confuse the means with the ends, the principles with possible disputes over them, and what can and what cannot be disputed. What happens amongst the Palestinians in the diaspora effects the Palestinians under occupation in the occupied homeland and vice versa.

Likewise, there is a limit to the disagreements and disputes which cannot be crossed, in order not to harm the goals and the cause, at base. The sole guarantee for this is national unity within a democratic framework.

There is another important point: if our brethren outside have the right to dispute the means, their obligation to their people is to not float these differences on the surface, to be a card in the hand of one or other Arab party, or to become part of it, even supposing the good intentions or directions of all concerned. The solution to the disagreements lies within the Palestinian meetings and through the Palestinian institutions, not outside them.

On the other hand, we under occupation must stay away, as far as is possible, from these disputes. Only harm will come to those who ignore this. Each sector of our people has its own circumstances and interests, imposing means which at times are permitted and at others are forbidden.

AL MITHAQ
January 26

continued from page 16

existence. So we pleaded with them to give up that (statement) and say they will maintain contacts with Israelis who accept the principle of self-determination for the Palestinians and accept that the PLO speaks for the Palestinians.

They did not do that and when we spoke with our supporters they said: 'Look here, you are bringing us a message which we don't like, the message which excludes you as interlocutors with the PLO.' The present definition is much better, that contacts will be made with those who accept the right of self-determination and accept the PLO. It ignores the issue of who is a Zionist and who is not. This makes life much easier for us and we can see the reaction to that.

Al Fajr: **But my original question regards your action to see Arafat and other PLO officials. How many Israelis do you represent? What Shamir is implying is that you don't represent anyone.**

Peled: Well, if we did not represent anyone, he wouldn't be so frightened. The fact that the government devoted a cabinet session to exactly that — an act of people who don't represent anybody — shows that they don't feel like that.

They know that inside all parties there is interest, including the Likud. Someone like Likud MK Dror Zeigerman, for instance, was very impressed with what we have done. In the Labour Party, important elements there were also were impressed, as were the Liberal Party and the National Religious Party. People like MK Arucham Melamed and Avraham Burg (Soldiers Against Silence leader and son of Police, Interior, and Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg) are with us, no question about it. They felt that they lacked something which is something we are providing. I have never been asked by so many papers to give feature interviews for their weekend editions, **(Al Hamishmar, Haaretz.)** Why is that? Because there is tremendous interest. Uri Avnery gave a special interview to **Haaretz**. The interest that we created is tremendous and now it will be up to us to consolidate this interest into a more solid political force which I hope we will be able to do.

Al Fajr: **Getting back to your meeting with Arafat, are you hoping to be invited to the upcoming session of the PNC?**

Peled: When the question was raised we made it absolutely clear that if such an invitation is made, we will go. Whether or not we will be invited will depend on many considerations and I am not sure that we will be invited. If not, we will understand the reasons, which are not the lack of desire by some people but because of other problems.

SYMPOSIUMS

Al Fajr: **PLO meetings with Israeli leaders, until now, have mostly included members of Rakah, and your group — Sheli. Do you think that future meetings would include a wider range of Israelis? Maybe MKs from Mapam? Labour?**

Peled: One of the ideas we discussed was calling conferences from time to time, symposiums where people from both sides will meet and discuss the issues. This will be on a growing and wider scale. We could have 20 or 30 Israelis, 20 or 30 Palestinians — not all of them active politicians, but also professors, writers and artists — who sit together and discuss things.

The circle of Israelis and Palestinians must grow. Until now all our moves have been kept secret, but if we can open things now for wider participation people will come, there is no doubt about it.

Al Fajr: **Who do you think might come to such conferences?**

Peled: If you ask about politicians, their participation depends on how they read the changes in public opinion. Once they realise that this is a popular thing they will jump. Very frequently people from the Labour Party say that they vote and take the same position as their leaders, not because of conviction, but because they feel that doing something different would be unpopular. If participation in such conferences will become popular enough, they will join, there is no doubt of that.

Al Fajr: **Did you get 'good vibes' from Chairman Arafat as to political decisions for the coming months? How can you translate these feelings?**

Peled: We spoke of the procedure of calling conferences one after another in which participation would be enlarged. Not sending the same people every time, but sending new people. In the communique we said that the relations will be established between the Israel-Palestine Peace Council and the PLO on an institutional basis. From now on we are not acting as private individuals but as representatives of the two groups. This immediately gives credit to all members. From now on, conceivably every member can meet PLO officials. Arafat expressed his appreciation to all the peace forces in Israel. I think from now on we will have more solid cooperation.

Arafat said that he will send a message to the Palestinian leaders to have closer cooperation with us.

Al Farj: **Will New Outlook be involved in the next congress? They usually try to arrange such conferences.**

Peled: Some of them are registered members with our council. I hope that now they will feel more comfortable in associating themselves with PLO leaders. In the past they had problems with that. One problem which upset our relations is that they tried to have the conference in Paris without the participation of PLO representatives. They said, 'We welcome Palestinians but not PLO members.' I hope that now they will have less hesitation in meeting with PLO officials.

Peled: "Our public is completely brainwashed with hostile propaganda ...now we have better means to counter this."

Left: Arafat, right: Peled

Al Fajr: **Peace Now has been changing their tactics, taking a more aggressive role in protesting settlement activities. Will you cooperate with them? Will you take concrete steps regarding the Palestinian population?**

Peled: I think that we are more aggressive in showing our opposition than Peace Now. I think the Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University demonstrations in Ramallah and Nablus were done by our people. Peace Now is doing a good job, but we have one difference with them. Peace Now refrains from spelling out a clear-cut alternative policy. Peace Now has come out against certain aspects of Israeli policy, but they have never come out with a clear policy of their own.

What is their attitude towards Palestinian self-determination? About the occupied territories? I hope that it will be possible in the future to stage joint demonstrations with Peace Now. We cannot join these activities without stating our political position. In Peace Now demonstrations, normally, you have denunciation of something, but no clear statement of alternative policy. This is why we usually don't join them.

Al Fajr: **Tell us about the Israel-Palestine Peace Council. When was it set up? What are its goals?**

Peled: The peace council was formed officially in December 1975. The reason we decided to form the council was that during '74-'75 there were so many communications coming from the PLO with redefined goals and policies. There were, of course, the resolutions of the PNC in Cairo, then the famous document circulated in England by PLO representative to London, Said Hamami. Then came a series of articles by Sabri Jiryis and so on. We saw an accumulation of evidence and we felt that it was necessary to respond to this development. We tried with the Rabin government. But of course the government refused, so we saw that the next best thing was to form a public body which would undertake this job of signalling (to the PLO) that we are watching and we appreciate. That it was a timely move was proved by the fact that within six months, in June 1976, we were already in contact with the PLO.

Al Fajr: **You were a reserve general in the Israeli army. How did someone like you become involved in such a council? What changed your ideas?**

Peled: The way it was felt on our side, the Israeli side, up to 1967, was that we had no real options. The stated policy of our government was that we wanted to make peace. After the war in 1967, new possibilities opened up. This was exactly the time when the Israeli public began to split over policies. As soon as the war ended, on the sixth day, I proposed, in my capacity as a member of the general staff, that we adopt a policy aimed at implementing the principle of partition. I came to this conclusion based on my concept of what was good for the future of Israel — to turn from being a besieged military camp, into a member of the Middle Eastern community. The first arguments I had over this issue were with Ariel Sharon and Rabin, while we were still in the army. Eventually when I retired from the army in 1969, I began to publish articles stating my position and I continued publishing hundreds of articles until we set up the council.

Al Fajr: **Tell us about your family background: where were you born, grow up, etc? How was your political thinking shaped?**

Peled: I was born in 1923 in Haifa, but in fact I grew up in Jerusalem. Both my parents came from the Ukraine in 1921. I never belonged to a political party, but as a young boy I was a member of a youth movement which was affiliated with the Histadrut. Eventually my career had two pre-state of Israel aspects: I was active in the Haganah and Palmach (both Zionist military organisations), eventually in the army and in the meantime I studied law in London University but never finished. In 1947 I joined the Haganah, and then the army and I became a civilian once more in 1969.

Al Fajr: **As a former member of the Israeli army, what do you think of the present situation and actions of the army, the invasion of Lebanon, and Israeli Chief-of-Staff Raphael Eitan's guidelines in reacting to West Bank demonstrations, for instance?**

Peled: It is a terrible degradation that the army is becoming politicised, is richer in equipment and poorer in values. In the West Bank, the fact that the government is accepting Eitan's guidelines is a clear indication of how low we have sunk.

Al Fajr: **You said you knew Sharon and Rabin during your days in the army?**

Peled: Before the '67 war we were professionals, but afterwards with the opening of political options, we began to discuss things and Sharon immediately went for a chauvinistic, expansionist policy and I went the other way. I left the army and expressed my views publicly and he left and joined the Likud.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 143, January 28, 1983

Number of original articles submitted	22
Number of articles totally censored out	6
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	2
Number of articles returned	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	9

WEEKLY REVIEW

Bab Hutta area, Old City, Jerusalem is falling down. Construction work on the lanes during winter weather is causing old homes to crack/SF

January 18, 1983

SNOW EMERGENCY

RAMALLAH — Emergency teams in Ramallah, al-Bireh and Amari refugee camp were reorganised to deal with emergencies during snow storms.

January 19, 1983

TALKS ROADBLOCKED

BEIRUT — Israeli army roadblocks at the Khalde triangle prevented the head and members of the Lebanese delegation to the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations from reaching the Lebanon Beach Hotel where the negotiations are taking place.

Anton Fattal, head of the delegation, tried to intervene, to no avail. The Israeli officer in charge would not withdraw his position until the arrival of a member of the Israeli delegation who allowed the Lebanese to move.

RAID IN LEBANON

TEL AVIV — An Israeli military position was hit by automatic gun-fire by a Palestinian group in the Kamid al-Loz area in the Beqa'a region. The radio added that the Israelis returned fire in the direction of the attack which came from behind Syrian lines.

CASH GRAB COMING

The Israeli 'civil administration' has begun to distribute notices to West Bank citizens for the registration of their property, in preparation for registration in the tax department.

HOMES VANDALISED

GAZA — Israeli military bulldozers destroyed the walls of some houses and uprooted trees in 'Azbat Beit Hanoun.

RED CROSS GRAB

GAZA — A Red Cross car was stolen in Gaza. It was parked in front of the Red Cross offices in the town. This is the second car theft from the ICRC in the last two months.

January 20, 1983

DOCTORS SEE ANSAR

TEL AVIV, AFP — The Israeli authorities have permitted a group of doctors from a French humanitarian organisation called "Doctors Without Borders" to visit prisoners at Ansar detention camp. One of the doctors said the prisoners' health was reasonable.

FROZEN HEBRON

HEBRON — Hebron suffered the coldest frost seen here for many years. Traffic came to a standstill and many tradesmen kept shops closed until mid-morning.

CLOSING AREA

NABLUS — The Israeli authorities have erected an iron gate at the entrance to Hattin Street, the largest street in the Old City of Nablus.

FIRST LEBANON, NOW HERE

ACRE — The Israeli magistrates court in Acre extended the detention of Wahid Mahmoud Baitiin for a further two weeks following the public prosecutor's request to complete investigations. Baitiin was detained last Tuesday after he returned to Israel from Lebanon where he had been imprisoned by the Lebanese for over two months.

Radio Israel reported that Baitiin had gone to Sidon with a permit from the Israeli authorities to visit his relatives there. However he left Sidon and headed for Beirut, breaking the promise which he had given to the Israelis to restrict his visit to Sidon.

AID PROGRAMME

GAZA — The local council of Nusseirat refugee camp has started extending the water-network, free, to 534 needy families.

CRIMINALS NO MORE

Haaretz reports that the editor of David Ben Gurion's diaries to be published soon by the Israeli ministry of defence, removed the following statement made by Ben Gurion, the first Israeli prime minister, after the occupation of Jaffa in 1948: "I passed through the town and the men of Etzel greeted me, but despite this they looked like men of the underworld, like criminals."

Etzel was headed by Menachem Begin at that time. The editor, Gershon Rivlin, claims that he removed the statement because it was a "slip of the tongue."

INTERNAL CENSOR REPORTS

TEL AVIV — Reuven Yaror, the spokesperson for Israel Television reported that TV rules do not prevent journalists from talking to Jordan's King Hussein, whereas they do forbid interviews with Yasir Arafat.

This declaration comes after Yasir Arafat's statement that he was prepared to meet a team from Israel TV.

January 21, 1983

AL FAJR HARASSMENT CONTINUES

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military authorities delivered a closure order to the **Al Fajr** office in Bethlehem for a period of three months as of January 18. The authorities raided the office last Tuesday and confiscated its contents, including issues of the magazine, **Al Bayader al-Siasi**.

GAZANS ARRESTED

TEL AVIV — The Israeli authorities have arrested 23 Gaza residents for being in Nazareth overnight without permission from the military authorities. This is part of a larger campaign to prevent Arab workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip from being within the Green Line.

CELL DETAINED

The Israeli military spokesperson announced that the Israeli security forces have arrested members of an armed Palestinian cell who attacked an Israeli bus in Tel Aviv two weeks ago.

The spokesperson said that the members of the cell belong to FATAH and that the Palestinian officer in charge of the operation had used Egypt as his headquarters. The four members are said to have admitted responsibility for an armed operation in the Gaza Strip about 2½ months ago.

SETTLERS DEMO

Kiryat Arba settlers organised a demonstration against Acting-Mayor of Hebron Mustafa Natshe.

The settlers' council has on many previous occasions said that it would demand that Natshe be dismissed, because, according to it, he is a member of the PLO and an obstacle to Israeli settlement in Hebron.

January 22, 1983

NABLUS DEMO

NABLUS — Demonstrations were held here against last week's arrest of the members of Najah University Students Council. The demonstrators damaged walls erected by the authorities in the Old City to prevent stones being thrown at Israeli military vehicles. The Israeli authorities imposed a curfew on the Qassabeh quarter of the Old City.

TEACHER FIRED

HEBRON — Maha Naim Awdeh, a resident of Tarqumiya and sports teacher in the Dura girls seconday school, received an order dismissing her from her post as of January 30. The teacher is a graduate of the Teachers Institute of Najah University.

PLO-PEACE FORCES TALK

TUNIS — After 24 hours of silence, Tunisia news media have confirmed that a meeting took place recently between PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and some of his aides, with an Israeli delegation consisting of Mati Peled, Uri Avnery and Ya'acov Arnon, all members of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace.

GRENADE ATTACK

HADERA — A hand grenade was thrown at an Arab house in Hadera. No one was injured but the building suffered heavy damage.

January 23, 1983

PALESTINIAN BOYS STABBED

ACRE — The bodies of two 15-year-old youths were found in the village of Tamra in the Nazareth region. They had been repeatedly stabbed with a sharp instrument. The bodies of the two youths were taken to the forensic laboratory in Abu Kbir for examination.

SONG FEST

JERUSALEM — Young people and students at the Kalandia Industrial Institute held a song festival. Nationalist songs were sung, speeches were delivered and **dabkas** danced.

BISHOP TO STAY

Maariv newspaper reported that the Israeli authorities will not expel Armenian Bishop Kazanjian even though his residence permit has expired. The

Performance of "The Mukhtars of Mukhtars" by Farafir theatre troup, in East Jerusalem last week.

paper added that the subject of his expulsion has been studied by the Israelis many times over the past six months.

BOOK FINES

The Israeli military court in Ramallah imposed a fine of IS10,000 and two months probation on Sami Abed Latif Yousef after finding him guilty of possessing forbidden political books.

January 24, 1983

TALKS ROCKETED

BEIRUT — Katyusha rockets exploded near the Lebanon Beach Hotel where the ninth round of Lebanese-Israeli negotiations were being held. An Israeli soldier was wounded.

Meanwhile official Lebanese Radio reported that Israeli forces set up a control post in the Damour area, south of Beirut, and stopped Lebanese military vehicles, confiscating weapons from soldiers. Damour is a few kilometers south of Khalde where the negotiations are taking place.

NEW TEMPLE OPPOSED

The Israeli Labour Party has called on the public prosecutor and the Israeli police to investigate an extremist Israeli group which calls for the construction of a third Jewish temple on the site of al-Aqsa mosque.

GAZA FLOODS Photos

GAZA — Residents of A'yyau Street have been complaining of overflowing drains along their street. Municipal engineers say that the drains are narrow, old and worn out and can only be fixed by being replaced.

EMPLOYMENT PLAN

BEIT JALA — The Beit Jala municipality has decided to set up a small industrial area near the Atlas stone-cutting factory in order to provide work for carpenters and blacksmiths in the town.

CAMERAS STOLEN

QALQILYA — Unknown persons broke into Samarat Studio owned by Amin Qadoura and stole a number of cameras. Police are investigating the incident.

10,000 HELD

PARIS — Officials in the International Centre for Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners and Missing said in Paris that the Israelis are holding at least 10,000 people prisoner in Lebanon.

SMOKE BOMB

TEL AVIV — There was general panic in Ramat Aviv after a smoke-bomb exploded near a parked car. The bomb went off as some children played with it, but there were no injuries. Police combed the area for other explosives but found nothing.

ARRESTED FOR DRAWING FLAG

TEL AVIV — Israeli police arrested a number of members of Abna' al-Balad (Progressive Nationalist) movement on a charge of drawing a Palestinian flag on the roof of the house they rented to use as a club in the village of Kufr Kana, Galilee.

TEACHER FIRED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities dismissed a teacher who is a member of the General Teachers Council in Ramallah, charged with possessing literature banned by the Israeli military censor.

BUS STONED

An Israeli bus transporting soldiers was pelted with stones as it passed near Dheisheh refugee camp. The soldiers got off the bus, raided the camp and arrested two youths.

TORTURE QUERY

TEL AVIV — MK Shulamit Aloni has sent a letter of inquiry to Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon following increasing complaints of torture in Israeli prisons which have led to prisoners losing consciousness.

Aloni said that she has been informed by various sources of the complaints by prisoners in Israeli military prisons. She asked the defence minister if he was aware of this phenomenon and to what extent it had reached. She demanded to know what measures and orders are being given to prevent these acts and what means are being used to implement these orders.

MK Charlie Biton has sent a similar letter to the defence minister in which he describes the acts of torture and terrible treatment of prisoners in Israeli jails.

CURFEW LIFTED

TEL AVIV — Israel radio reported that the Israeli authorities lifted the curfew imposed on the Old City of Nablus yesterday morning in order to erect iron gates on Hattin Street.

WELCOME HOME!

WEST BANK — Six thousand residents have returned to the West Bank in the past two days via the Allenby and Damia bridges. This large number is due to the ending of the first semester in Jordanian institutes and universities.

January 25, 1983

EXIT ALLOWED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities have given permission for the heads of Beitounia, Silwad and Bir Zeit municipalities to travel to Amman. They have been forbidden to leave the West Bank for the past year. Permission has also been given to a number of Silwad residents to obtain permits to leave the West Bank.

FRUIT EXPORTS

GAZA — The total amount of citrus exports from the Gaza Strip has reached 34,000 tons. Around 4,000 tons of grapefruit remains unpicked with no market and 5,000 tons of lemons are rotting on the ground.

EXPORTS PERMITTED

NABLUS — The military authorities announced a decision to allow the owners of stone-cutting factories to export 75 percent of their monthly production to the East Bank.

MORE ARMED ROBBERS

BETHLEHEM — Money-changer Mohammad Ali Abed Rabo of al-Atfal Street near the vegetable market was robbed of JD 500. According to eyewitnesses three persons entered the shop and demanded he give up the cash. When he refused, they drew knives and attacked him, wounding him in different parts of his body. They then took the money.

WORK STOPPAGE

TULKARM — Officials in the education department in Tulkarm have sent a letter to university teacher Salim Abed al-Rahman Zaghel, ordering him to stop teaching in Kufr Jamal secondary school as of January 19, 1983. No reasons were given.

SHOP COLLAPSES

JERUSALEM — Municipal excavation in the Old City caused the collapse of a shop belonging to Mahmoud al-Arna'out in the 'Ilwan market. A number of houses in the area have also been damaged.

JOKE MEETING

Nayef Hawatmeh, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has described the meeting between Yasir Arafat and a number of Israeli peace activists as "very theatrical and hardly serious." He said the meeting would have absolutely no effect on political decision-making within Israeli society, and added: "The PLO is prepared to meet with any Jew who recognises the rights of the Palestinian people to existence, self-determination and to establish an independent state."

As to the possibility of Israeli observers participating in the upcoming meeting of the PNC in Algeria, Hawatmeh said that the subject had not been raised.

PRISON STRIKE

News has leaked out that Palestinian prisoners held in Nafha declared a hunger-strike Monday. Prisoners at Beer Sheba jail have also done the same. Families of the prisoners say that they are only taking water and bread. The strike follows complaints of bad treatment by the prison authorities, insufficient food and inadequate covering and clothing for the winter. Families also say that prisoners are forbidden books, and some lawyers' visits.

The prisoners' families have been holding an intermittent sit-in strike in the Jerusalem and Gaza offices of the Red Cross since last Saturday.

SHARON FORGETFUL

An Israeli Knesset subcommitee called for the resignation of Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon for violating Israeli law. According to a memorandum presented by the subcommittee, Sharon is charged with breaking the law when he did not issue his orders, last June, to Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan for Israeli forces to not advance more than 45 kilometers inside Lebanon, which was based on the decision of the Israeli government.

DETAINEES FREED

BETHLEHEM — Najah el-Khamour and Muntaha Salama from Dheisheh camp were released after being in detention for over one month. Akram Hamoud Jaber from Hebron was released after 14 years imprisonment on political charges.

MORE SENTENCED

HEBRON — The Israeli military court sentenced university student Khadr Mohammad Salameh from Beit 'Awwa to two and a half years imprisonment and three years probation on political charges. The student is in his third year at Bethlehem university. He was arrested last August.

Thieves Rob Nazareth Anti-Crime Crusader

Archdeacon Nathaniel Shehadeh, who started a committee against crime in Nazareth four years ago, was the victim of a robbery by four masked men January 14. Shehadeh, who has been calling for more police on Nazareth streets and especially in the old city, answered a knock on the door Friday evening. Three masked men with knives and a fourth with a club demanded he give them all his money and valuables. The thieves got away with US $5,000, FF1,500, IS40,000, two watches, two bracelets and two rare crosses, as far as the archdeacon could remember.

The Greek Catholic's home has been flooded with residents encouraging him to continue his fight against crime. The archdeacon told **Al Fajr** that he had contemplated stopping his social and community work, to concentrate on his parish, "but the great wave of support has given me hope and encouragement," he said.

Community and religious leaders have sent hundreds of telegrams to Interior, Police and Religious Minister Yosef Burg saying that police protection must be stepped up.

Archdeacon Shehadeh denied a report in **The Jerusalem Post** that the crime rate has decreased in the past two years. "Hundreds of people have come to me during the past few days and told me of robberies and violent crimes that are taking place in Nazareth," noted Shehadeh. He said that local residents do not report crimes to the police force because of its ineffectiveness and their fear of threats of revenge from the perpetrators.

Shehadeh told **Al Fajr** that most of Nazareth's residents believe there is a direct connection between the robbery and his activity in fighting crime. "But I think it was motivated by greed, because I was not physically attacked or humiliated by the robbers," he added. Shehadeh said that he believes the thieves were local hooligans because they spoke Arabic, throwing in some Hebrew to "divert attention."

Three people have been arrested for questioning but no formal charge has been issued.

SHORTS

CONTROVERSIAL CONSUL LEAVING

US Consul General in Jerusalem, Brandon Grove, will be leaving his post in June. He is to be replaced by former US Ambassador to Bahrain, Watt Cluverious, who is presently working in Washington.

Grove has been a controversial consul. He has been frequently accused by Israelis of bias against them. The latest row occurred late last year when the consulate in Jerusalem was accused of being behind the US State Department's refusal to meet Mustafa Dudeen, head of the Village Leagues, who was then proposing to visit the US. Both Israelis and leaguers attacked the consulate.

A spokesman for the consulate, however, told **Al Fajr** that the transfer was part of "normal rotation" and that in fact Grove will be overstaying normal tenure in order for his children to finish the school year.

PROGRESSIVE STUDENTS WIN IN NAQAB

The National Progressive Movement students bloc won all seven seats on Beer Sheba University Arab Students Committee January 18. According to a spokesman for the movement in Jerusalem, 95 percent of the approximately 300 students at the Naqab university voted. The NPM polled 65 percent of the vote.

The Israeli Communist Party-backed Arab Students Front was the only other group in the poll. The ASF recently won Arab student polls in Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv.

GAZA RESIDENTS TRAVEL TO EGYPT

GAZA — Egyptian authorities turned back a number of Gazan residents wishing to visit their country on the pretext that their travel documents were 'invalid' because they expire in less than two months. The authorities claimed that no Gaza resident could travel unless in possession of a travel document valid for more than two months.

Travel documents issued from Cairo are valid for five years, but those issued in Amman are valid for one year only. When renewing travel documents, applicants are required to be personally present even if ill and unable to travel. Residents have requested that Egyptian personnel in Jordan accept a power-of-attorney to represent them but the Egyptian authorities have refused this request.

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AL FAJR Interview With Matityahu Peled

by Daoud Kuttab

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Reserve General Matityahu Peled has been active for several years contacting PLO personalities and working together with them to draw up plans to promote real peace in the region. Peled, who was born in Haifa and retired from the Israeli army in 1969, is the president of the Israel-Palestine Peace Council. Last week, in perhaps his most controversial meeting to date, Peled along with journalist Uri Avnery and Ya'acov Arnon, former director general of the Israeli finance ministry, held discussions with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat at an undisclosed Middle East location. Since his return, Israeli and foreign media have been buzzing around the retired general requesting long feature interviews. Al Fajr was able to meet with the Tel Aviv University Arabic literature professor at the American Colony in East Jerusalem, and following are excerpts of our interview.

Al Fajr: **Can you give us a picture of the feeling or atmosphere of your meeting with Arafat?**

Peled: The first moment was very dramatic, but he has a way of reducing tension; he gradually creates an atmosphere where you are not tense anymore. He is kind, smiles nicely, allows everybody to feel at ease. After 10 minutes we all started talking to each other without formality.

There were other Palestinians present during the evening and it became clear that they could joke together and tease one another. This informality allowed us to be frank. We were encouraged to ask questions, to express our views.

Despite all that, it was quite clear, on the Palestinian side, that Arafat was the man with authority. A man with a lot of authority, but not spoiled by it. I thought he was very open-minded, very well informed. There was little we could tell him which he did not already know. He had a small copy book in which he wrote things down all the time. It was clear that what he wrote he would refer back to.

We spent four hours, which were, apart from anything else, quite a pleasant time. I was impressed that a man with so much authority, so much on his mind, could spend that time with us. I tried to reconstruct his trips in the last two weeks and could not understand how he could make it. Still he was very relaxed and did not look tired.

He could laugh, joke, and formulate a statement. It was very pleasant.

Al Fajr: **The joint communique issued did not disclose your meeting place and time, but some reports say it was in Tunis.**

Peled: Giving a place and a date is giving certain information. These people are being chased by various groups and it is good for them not to reveal all their movements. I think it is a valid consideration.

Al Fajr: **Since your return, many in Israel have demanded your punishment for meeting PLO officials. Will they be successful in their efforts?**

Peled: From what I hear, three ministers have demanded in today's cabinet session (January 24) that legal action be taken against us. But they very soon found out from the minister of justice that such action would be unsupported as far as the local and international public are concerned. What we did is perfectly legal. If the government doesn't use the present laws against us that means we are not doing anything against the security of the state of Israel. So if our action doesn't involve a security risk the government would be depriving us of our basic rights. I think the government would just have to swallow this one. If we have a chance to attend the upcoming PNC (Palestine National Council) session in Algeria, I think we will begin to demolish the whole facade of the government's policy.

Al Fajr: **Was your latest meeting with Arafat, a breakthrough or climax of many previous meetings you and others have had with PLO officials?**

Peled: It is a culmination of a process. We have been meeting with PLO leaders for years and we were also, in a way, in touch with Arafat. During the war in Lebanon the **Haolam Hazeh** editor Uri Avnery and **Al Hamishmar** reporter Amnon Kapeliuk's meetings with Arafat made contacts closer, and it was very clear after the evacuation that sooner or later we would have a chance to meet in public and this has taken place in due course.

Al Fajr: **The actual meeting was probably much more important than what was said. Can you tell us about what had occurred to make this meeting possible and what, if any, obstacles were in your way before you were able to meet Chairman Arafat?**

Peled: We wanted our contacts with the PLO to be acknowledged in a way that would eliminate all doubt. For many years we would meet and issue a communique and someone would deny it, or someone would deny that it was of any significance. The most recent case, which really upset me a great deal, was late in July last year, when Farouk Kadoumi was asked by **Al Majala** about the close cooperation between the Israeli peace forces and the PLO. He said that there was no such cooperation.

Then he was asked specifically about the press conferences which I had with Arafat's special advisor, Isam Sartawi, in Paris, London and Brussels. The interviewer was surprised by Kadoumi's remarks: "We follow these people making press conferences." Kadoumi said these were the private activities of Sartawi. So on the one hand we had well-established contacts and on the other there were people denying our meetings and diminishing their importance. This had to come to an end and I believe that in this meeting with Arafat it came to an end. He said this would be an open meeting, we would issue a joint communique, we would take pictures, and enough of this denying and doubting. So this brought to an end a certain phase and we are now into a new phase.

Al Fajr: **What is the new phase?**

Peled: From now on we will maintain more regular contacts, more regular meetings and as the communique said, we will cooperate in defining ways of action towards achieving a just and lasting peace, which would mean that they will take into consideration our advice regarding what is best in order to win over Israeli public opinion. We will not try to think of advising them on other issues but once it has been determined that Israeli public opinion is a goal towards which efforts should be made, we will have a much greater opportunity for educating our public as to who the PLO are, what their goals and problems are.

As you know our public is completely brainwashed with hostile propaganda and the previous situation did not really enable us to counter this. I believe that now we will have better means to counter this hostile propaganda.

Al Fajr: **What would you like the PLO to do in helping you to counter this hostile propaganda?**

Peled: If I could for a moment think of the PLO as an organisation which operates in a vacuum, I would ask them to announce acceptance of the legitimacy of the state of Israel because this would, like a magic wand, eliminate the most impressive argument that the government uses for not accepting the PLO.

I know that this is unrealistic but there are other ways. For instance, they can do it in a conditional or indirect manner. If, for instance, one day the PLO would be persuaded to announce that they cannot recognise Israel under the present government but that this difficulty would be eliminated once the Israeli government adopted our policy, this would be a conditional or roundabout way, but to us it would be very, very helpful.

As you know, one of the main efforts of the Israeli informational services is to present Israeli society to the world as if on some issues, there is national consensus. Refusing to deal with the PLO or to allow a Palestinian state constitutes a national consensus. Navon, unfortunately, repeated the same nonsense when he was in America. Now this is not so; there is no national consensus. If the PLO would say that if the government adopted the policy of this (Peled's) group, then they would recognise Israel, it would bring hope to many Israelis that there is an alternative, in fact, being proposed and that there is no national consensus and that by adopting a different policy we can gain what cannot be gained (now).

Even today we hear the Labour Party denounce our move because we went to meet the leader of an organisation that is dedicated to the destruction of Israel. This is the major argument. I hope one day we will see a move by the PLO which would help us demolish that myth head-on.

Al Fajr: **Shamir tries to diminish your efforts by saying that your group was unable to get a mandate in the last election. Obviously you represent the opinion of many Israelis. What is your opinion of Shamir's statements?**

Peled: It is true that we (Sheli Party) did not get a mandate last time. There are many reasons for that. One reason is that many Israelis were frightened by an overwhelming victory by the Likud which they thought would bring about fascism in Israel. Yossi Sarid, whose political thinking is almost exactly like ours, came out on television and said: "Please don't waste your votes on small parties, the main thing is to stop Likud."

Another reason is that we are in fact a one issue party. We believe that the only way to get out of the war-cycle is to bring a just solution to the Palestinian problem and we stake everything on that. Before the last elections, what we had was a resolution by the PNC, which is now being ignored, that the PLO would maintain contacts only with those Israelis who are both in practice and theory anti-Zionist.

We could never identify ourselves as such. (The Israeli Communist Party) Rakah does and this is why Rakah has practically no Jewish membership. This is one of the topics which we feel should not be touched because people here feel that it negates their very

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